

*Labor Omnia Vincit*

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
Fifteenth Annual Convention

OF THE

American Federation  
of Labor

HOLD AT

NEW YORK, N. Y.

December 9th to 17th Inclusive

1895

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A. F. OF L.

OFFICERS  
OF THE  
**American Federation of Labor**

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# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

### PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the Capitalist and the Laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It therefore behooves the Representatives of the Trades and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the trade union system.

### CONSTITUTION.

#### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This association shall be known as "THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR," and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

#### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

Section 1. The objects of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of Local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies, into State Territorial or Provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other, and, furthermore, to secure National Legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of Organized Labor.

Sec. 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

#### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

Section 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the

second Monday in December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

Sec. 2. At the opening of the convention, the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

Sec. 3. The following committees, consisting of five members each, shall be appointed by the President: 1st, Credentials; 2d, Rules and Order of Business; 3d, Report of President and Executive Council; 4th, Report of Secretary; 5th, Resolutions; 6th, Laws; 7th, Organization; 8th, Labels and Loycotts; 9th, Grievances; 10th, Local or Federated Bodies.

Sec. 4. The President shall direct the Chief Executive Officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations elect; who shall compose an auditing committee, and this committee shall meet at the place for holding the convention three days prior to the Convention, and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months. The expenses of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

Sec. 5. All resolutions of a general character, or propositions for changes in this Constitution may be sent by delegates-elect or the officers of affiliated organizations to the Secretary of the A. F. of L. at least two weeks previous to the assembling of Convention; the Secretary shall have the same compiled and printed as a program of business and mailed to each delegate-elect.

Sec. 6. The report of the Grievance Committee shall be considered in executive session.

Sec. 7. None other than members of a bona fide trade union shall be permitted to address the convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National or International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on; and from each Local or District Trade Organization or federated body, not connected with, or having a National or International head, affiliated with this Federation, one delegate. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 2. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, he represents, but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the convention, printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than October 31st preceding each annual Convention.

Sec. 3. No organization which has seceded or has been suspended or expelled from any National or International Organization connected with the Federation, shall be allowed a representation or recognition in this Federation or Central Body or National or International Union connected with the A. F. of L., under penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 4. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, from the President of the Federation, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention, who shall constitute an Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices for the transaction of the business of the organization at Indianapolis, Ind.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall, at all times, be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all General Conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents; to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation; to submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and at the end of his term of office he shall report his acts and doings to the annual convention of the Federation. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interests of the Federation. He shall call meetings of the Executive

Council, when necessary, and shall preside over all their deliberations, and he shall receive for his services such sum as the annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 2. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In the event of such a vacancy in said office, it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue within six days from the date of such vacancy a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

#### ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

Section 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the annual Convention, and furnish to the Committee on Credentials at each Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body with the Federation; to forward, on March 1 and September 1 of each year, to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations, a list of names and addresses of secretaries and organizers in his possession; to keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such a manner as the annual Convention may direct; to receive and collect all moneys due to the Federation, and to pay them to the Treasurer his receipt therefor; provided that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$250, for current expenses, which money shall only be paid out on the approval of the President; to submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; to close all accounts of the Federation on October 31st of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after said date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention; to publish a financial report monthly in the *American Federationist*, and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation. His office shall be located in the same office with that of the President. He shall give a bond of \$1,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

Section 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property and security of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary. He shall deposit all moneys belonging to the Federation in bank, in his name as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor; and before any moneys thus deposited can be drawn, each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. He shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others. He shall submit to the annual Convention a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up

to his successor all moneys, securities, books and papers of the Federation under his control and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$100.

#### ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade and Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions and connect them with the Federation until such time as there are a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed. When a National or International Union has been formed the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with within three months their charter shall be revoked.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention in printed form concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts, and no endorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported, by the Executive Council.

Sec. 4. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

#### ARTICLE X.—STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

Section 1. In case any National or International or local body affiliated with this Federation shall order a strike, or are locked out, and by reason of financial distress it shall be necessary for it to call upon the Federation for aid, the Executive Council, if they deem that such organization is entitled to receive such assistance, shall make an assessment, not exceeding 2 cents per member per week, upon every other National, International and Local body so affiliated with the Federation. Such assessment shall remain in force for a period not exceeding five continuous weeks, unless otherwise ordered by a general vote of all National and International Unions affiliated.

Sec. 2. Any National or International organization or other body connected with this Federation, failing to comply with the requirements of Sec. 1 of this article, within a period of 30 days shall be suspended, and shall not be reinstated until all arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 3. Accompanying a call for an assessment shall be a circular from the President of the Federation, giving a detailed account of the strike or lockout.

Sec. 4. No affiliated body of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to benefit from the strike fund of the Federation until they have been six months affiliated, have paid six months per capita tax to the Federation, and are in good standing.

#### ARTICLE XI.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one-fourth of one per cent. per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Unions, one cent per member per month; and from Central Labor Unions of City and State Federated Bodies, \$6.25 every three months. All monies shall be payable to the Secretary of the Federation.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in this Federation unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article, has been paid in full.

Sec. 3. Any organization, affiliated with this Federation, not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears, it shall become suspended from membership in the Federation, and can only be reinstated by vote of the Convention, when such arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 4. Any organization that has withdrawn or been suspended or expelled, and not reinstated as provided for in Section 3 of this article, shall return its charter and seal to the office of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 5. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers, from place to place, in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 6. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council or speakers engaged by them, shall be \$3.50 per day and traveling and hotel expenses.

Sec. 7. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution or the Constitution of affiliated Unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

#### ARTICLE XII.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

Section 1. No Central Labor Union or any other Central body of delegates shall admit to their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of being denied representation in the General Convention of this Federation.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Unions in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the A. F. of L. to all Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city, belonging to the National or International Unions, affiliated with this Federation, they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or join such body, if already in existence.

Sec. 4. The executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize as Federal

Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen preclude other forms of organization.

ARTICLE XIII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Section 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and Local Bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a Local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement and shall have the power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution; and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided the request for a certificate be endorsed by the nearest Local or National Trades Union officials connected with this Federation.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be \$5, payable to the Secretary of

the Federation, and which shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The A. F. of L. shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and the Executive Officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Party politics, whether they be democratic, republican, socialistic, populist, prohibition or any other shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 7. Not more than three Federal labor unions shall be chartered in any one city. No Federal labor union shall be recognized as affiliated if its membership consists of a majority of active members of trade unions.

ARTICLE XIV.—AMENDMENTS

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION.

NAME OF ORGANIZATION.	NO OF VOTES FOR EACH DELEGATE.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
American Agents Association	11	C. H. Sidener, Findlay, Ohio.
Barbers Internat. Union. Journeymen	15	W. E. Klapezky, box 585, Syracuse, N. Y.
Bakers and Confectioners International Union, Journeymen	40	Henry Weismann, 5 Boreum St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union.	50	John F. Tobin, 620 Atlantic ave, Boston, Mass.
	50	Horace M. Eaton, Atlantic ave, Boston, Mass.
Brewery Workmen	30	E. Kurzenknabe, 405 Market St., St. Louis, Mo.
	30	C. E. Bechtold, 404 Market St., St. Louis, Mo.
Brass, Composition and Metal Workers..	5	Ed. J. Lynch, Meriden, Conn.
Carpenters and Joiners Brotherhood	50	P. J. McGuire, box 884, Philadelphia, Pa.
	50	Wm. F. Plumb, New York City.
	50	D. P. Rowland, 22 E. Court St., Cincinnati, O.
	50	J. J. Linehan, Rand-McNally building, Chicago.
Carpenters and Joiners (Amalgamated) Cigarmakers, International	17	Jas. Pearce, 348 W. 20th St., New York City.
	69	J. Mahlon Barnes, 8th and Callowhill Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
	69	Wm. Neuroth, 1405 Larimer St. Denver, Col.
	69	Samuel Gompers, 308 E. 125 St., N. Y.
	69	J. C. Dernel, 39 Commerce building, Chicago, Ill.
Electrical Workers Nat'l Brotherhood	20	J. T. Kelly, 904 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.
Furriers International Union	5	Louis Weiss, 385 Bowery, N. Y.
Garment Workers United	41	C. F. Reichers, Lafayette Pl., New York.
	40	S. H. Jacobson, 28 Lafayette Pl., N. Y.
	40	M. M. Jacobs, 1150 Monon bld'g, Chicago, Ill.
Granite Cutters National Union	40	Jas. Duncan, drawer 118, Baltimore, Md.
Hotel and Rest. Employees Nat Alliance	16	D. H. Albers, 19 Bremen St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Horseshoers (Journeymen)	20	R. Kenehan, 1548 Wazee St., Denver, Col.
Iron Molders Union of America	50	Joseph F. Valentine, 18 1/2 Oak St., San Francisco, Cal.
	40	Joseph Widdowfield, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Iron and Steel Workers	40	M. J. Keough, Troy, N. Y.
Longshoremen, National Association	27	M. M. Garland, 108 4th ave. Pittsburg, Pa.
Machinist International Union	5	Daniel Keefe, 3029 Lowe ave, Chicago, Ill.
Machinists, International Association of	30	R. Pohle, New York City.
	29	Jas. O'Connell, Monon bl'k, Chicago, Ill.
	29	James J. Creamer.
	29	Robert Ashe, Somerville, Mass.
Mine Workers, United	61	P. H. Penna, Linton, Ind.
	60	P. McBryde, 53 Clinton b'g, Columbus, O.
	60	W. C. Pearce, Corning, O.
Polishers International, Metal	7	Ed. P. Usher, Toledo, O.
Painters and Decorators	51	Ed. P. Usher, Toledo, O.
Pattern Makers, National League	7	Jas. H. Sullivan, Station B, Baltimore, Md.
Potters National Union of America	2	E. H. Diehl, 26 Third Pl., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Printing Pressmens Union, International	25	T. B. Dennis, 54 Lincoln ave, Trenton, N. J.
Railway (Street) Employees A. A.	25	Jas. Gelson, 137 Putnam av., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Seamen's National Union	20	W. D. Mahon, Kanter bl'g, D-troit, Mich.
	20	T. J. Elderkin, 199 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
	20	A. Furuseth, S. W. cor. East and Mission Sts., San Francisco, Cal.
Spinnners Association, Cotton Mule	24	Robert Howard, box 293, Fall River, Mass.
Tobacco Workers National Union	34	Jno. White, 1028 Rutger St., St. Louis, Mo.
Tailors, Journeymen	21	J. B. Lennon, 28 Lafayette Pl., N. Y. City.
	21	E. H. Blick, 28 Lafayette Pl., N. Y. City.
Theatrl Stage Employee's Nat. Alliance	20	H. J. Ryan, New York City.
Typographical International Union	73	W. B. Prescott, 7 DeSoto blk, Indpl's, Ind.
	73	Wm. Higgins, 1035 6th St., Louisville, Ky.
	73	A. McCraith, DeSoto blk, Indpl's, Ind.
	73	J. W. Bramwood, box 681, Denver, Col.
Weavers, Amalgamated Association of Elastic Web	4	Thos. Pollard, box 177, N. Abington, Mass.

NAME OF ORGANIZATION.	NO. OF VOTES FOR EACH DELEGATE.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
State Branch (New York).....	1	John J. Junio, Syracuse, N. Y.
State Branch (Massachusetts).....	1	T. F. Tracey, 700 East 5th St., Boston, Mass.
State Branch (Connecticut).....	1	G. A. Parsons, Hartford, Conn.
Industrial Council, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	P. E. Duffy, 1302 Grand ave.
Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.....	1	Frank McCarthy, 45 Eliot St.
Central Labor Union, Toledo, Ohio.....	1	J. Braunschweiger, 540 Knewer St., Toledo, O.
Central Labor Union, Omaha, Neb.....	1	F. A. Kennedy, 303 S. 13th St., Omaha, Neb.
Central Labor Union, Louisville, Ky.....	1	Jas. McGill, 937 Stevenson ave., Louisville, Ky.
Central Labor Union, Indianapolis.....	1	E. A. Perkins, News office.
Central Labor Council, Cincinnati.....	1	Frank L. Rist, 321 Neave St.
Council of Trades and Labor Un., Detroit	1	H. C. Barter, 24 St. Aubin ave.
Central Labor Union, Scranton, Pa.....	1	Chas. Benedict, box 226.
Federated T. Council, Milwaukee, Wis....	1	L. S. Wieman, 299 5th St.
Federated Trades Assen'y, Duluth, Minn.	1	A. McCallum, 110 West Superior St.
Trades Labor Assembly, Denver, Col.....	1	Frank Lee, 1594 Wazee St., Denver, Col.
Trades Labor Assembly, Chicago, Ill.....	1	Wm. C. Pomeroy, 148 Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.
Trades Labor Union, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	David Kreyling, 319 Clark ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Trades Council, Birmingham, Ala.....	1	Wm. Mally, 216 1st ave.
Actors' Protective Union.....	2	J. W. Lawrence, 143 4th ave., New York.
Bleachers and Dyers Union, No. 6489.....	1	Jas. Lanigan, 215 River St., Waltham Mass.
Blast Furnace Workers' No. 6522.....	3	Jno. Anderson, 100 Ray St., Newcastle, Pa.
Butchers Union, No. 6423 (Pork).....	1	W. Simpson, 729 S. 9th St., Kansas City, Kan.
Coremakers Union, No. 5672.....	1	J. McCulloch, 110 Trumball St., Elizabeth, N. J.
Diamond Workers Union No. 6476.....	9	J. Gompers, 1685 Avenue A, New York.
Diamond Versters Union, No. 6568.....	1	Louis Marks, 217 East 16th St., N. Y.
Engineers' (No. 598), United Standard ..	2	F. A. Boehme, New York City.
Federal Labor Union, No. 5915.....	1	J. F. O'Sullivan, 72 Carver St., Boston, Mass.
Federal Labor Union, No. 6560.....	1	R. R. Nicol, Dowagiac, Mich.
Federal Labor Union, No. 6257, Phoenix..	1	J. Hollister, <i>Eight Hour Herald</i> , Chicago, Ill.
Federal Labor Union, No. 6541.....	2	C. P. McCambridge, care of Armour Packing Co., Kansas City, Kan.
Fishermens Protective Union, No. 6321, Columbia River.....	4	N. J. Svindseth, Astoria, Ore.
Glass Packers and Sorters Union, No. 3669	1	W. J. Dummett, 221 Sasafra St., Milledale, N. J.
Horse Nail Workers Union, No. 6170.....	1	E. L. Fenning, box 209, Hartford, Conn.
Kilnmen, Dippers and Saggermakers, No. 6598.....	2	Jas. W. Clark, Bruenig av., Trenton, N. J.
Laboring Men's Protective Union, No. 5287	1	P. Costello, box 267, Newport, R. I.
Manhattan Musical Union, No. 6352.....	6	Robt. A. Mullen, 70 E. 4th St., N. Y. City.
Marine Water Tenders, Oilers and Firemen.....	5	Ed. McGean, 119 Charlton St., N. Y. City.
Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers No. 6691	1	T. J. Murphy, N. Y. City.
Musical Union, No. 6347, Brooklyn.....	1	M. J. Mulcare, 993 Pacific St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Musical Society, No. 5454, Chicago.....	9	E. A. Drach, 83 E. Madison St.
Musicians Mutual Benefit Ass. No. 5579....	4	Owen Muller, 604 Market St., St. Louis, Mo.

The above list shows that 96 delegates were present, representing 75 organizations, 34 National and International, 3 State Branches, 15 Central Labor Bodies and 23 Local Unions.



FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION  
OF THE  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1895

Report of Proceedings.

FIRST DAY—Morning Session.

Monday, Dec. 9, 1895.

The Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order in Madison Square Garden at 10 o'clock, December 9, 1895, by President John McBride, who, after introductory remarks, introduced J. W. Sullivan, who welcomed the Convention to this city in the following words:

We welcome to New York the delegates to the fifteenth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

And who are "we?"  
"We" are the trade unionists of New York and vicinity, 100,000 strong.

We run the largest local business enterprise on this American continent. This enterprise is to "bull" our labor market. We succeed. We keep up wages right along, 25 per cent above the level they would be were employers to have their way. In some cases we put them up 50 per cent.

We thus retain for our own use half a million dollars a week which without our unions would go to enrich capitalists and monopolists. Twenty-six million dollars a year! That's our joint dividend; no less.

We retain this wealth justly because we produce it.

We retain it because we have the power to do it. We are well organized, well disciplined, and well led.

We boast therefore in our chosen leaders the greatest captains of industry in this metropolitan center. Their equals in this community cannot be named.

We have single local unions numbering 5,000 men. They are brigades of crusaders, battling for better homes, a better education for the young and a fuller life for the mature.

We are the greatest local institution which helps labor. Our own employment bureaus, our own out-of-work funds, our own benefit societies are unique in principle and unrivaled in effectiveness. They discountenance alms-giving and do the work of brotherhood.

We are the strongest conservative society in this populous community. We proceed by legal and peaceful methods. We conserve among the masses the principles of fair play, good pay and a free man's workday. We believe, with the Bible, that men should earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. We are true to every American tradition of the dignity of labor.

We are numerically the leading radical society on this hemisphere. We, every one, aim at justice down to the very roots of social organization, and we are sure political and economic justice must come in good time. We have begun by recognizing at the polls our political enemies. By and by, perhaps, we shall learn to legislate for ourselves.

We are fighters. That's what we're here for. We strike. We boycott. We reward friends and punish enemies. But we fight, not as a mob, but as a well-drilled army. We perpetrate no violence; we create no panic in society. We relegate hot-heads to the rear; we harken to our wise men; we obey our generals, whom we make and unmake.

We are a democracy. No bosses rule us. We tell our business agents what we'll do, and they tell us the time to go into action.

We recognize that the present is the happiest generation of wage-workers that ever fought for the emancipation of labor. No matter what our privation, we are overjoyed to take part in the struggle for labor—to work, to plan, to deny, to sacrifice ourselves—for we already see the dawn of the millennium prophesied by Christ, an era when labor will reap and enjoy its own.

We know that even now our labors would make every worker in this magnificent civic corporation rich were the product divided fairly.

We are the people! Why? Because all non-union men are social ciphers. On the labor market they possess no freedom of contract; in politics they have no organization to protest against social wrongs. No force of non-union artisans ever faced their employer with a demand backed by the power to persuade; no

non-unionists ever helped to raise their shop-mates' pay; no non-unionists ever assisted in fixing a wage scale; no non-unionists ever maintained a workman's newspaper; no non-unionists ever checked a rapacious employer; no non-unionists ever put a fellow-workman into a political office; no non-unionists ever sent up a committee to tackle a legislature. But for the trade unions there would be no Arbitration Boards, Labor Bureaus, or Factory Inspectors; no widespread discussion of radical political reforms; no instruction of the multitude in their rights; no "social question;" no legislators fearing militant labor, and no laws on the statute books recognizing labor's interests as interpreted by labor. We are protectors to the helpless non-unionist.

We gain victories. Witness the improved condition of 20,000 of our sweat shop workers in the last year, improved only by striking. Witness a score of other instances, only less notable, in the same period.

We are not calamity howlers. We work, organize, meet, legislate, fight the enemy, succeed, fail, rise and try it again, always in hopeful good humor. We quarrel and forgive; backcap and don't mean it; hold hot elections, and then cool off, laughing.

We don't humbly petition for our rights. We take them—when we can.

We tolerate talkers, jolly cranks and despise fakirs.

We are not discontented. Not by comparisons.

We are the artists who made possible the greatest show on earth—New York City and environs.

We are the mainspring of this metropolis. When we quit going its works run down.

We extend the glad hand to every form of labor organization. We sympathize with all who think they are social reformers; though some of them amuse us.

We pity the poor. We have them with us always. Ah! If all the poor were trades unionists there would be fewer millionaires, fewer paupers, more of the fairly prosperous.

We believe in liberty. Is he at liberty who has no work, no means, no opportunity, no footing on earth, no place but the highway, no right but to beg for work? No; he's let loose, but is not at liberty. The trades union affords him some liberty to make a free contract. It constructs for him an artificial island, where he may live until he gets his rights in the mainland.

We are the best friends that employers ever had. We furnish them with the best skill to be had anywhere. We protect them from becoming slave-drivers, which would be a sin. We prevent them from becoming too rich; riches are corrupting.

Brothers of the Convention:  
And who are you?

All that we are, your combined constituencies are, but on a far grander scale. Wherever a trade union is formed it does the kind of work we are doing in New York. We welcome you among us. We are honored by your presence. To our English brethren, a hearty welcome. Their presence proves that the bonds of trades unionism are strengthening throughout the world. Thrice welcome, all!

President McBride replied, thanking the trade unionists of New York for their cordial reception, and for the whole-souled manner in which they were endeavoring to entertain the delegates, and hoped that the proceedings of the Convention would be productive of good results for the trade unionists of New York City as well as for the entire labor movement.

It was then announced that John Swinton, President Frank Sargeant of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Joseph Buchanan and Frances Willard had been invited to address the Convention, and would do so in the course of its proceedings.

The Credential Committee was appointed as follows: T. J. Elderkin, Thos. F. Tracey, John White, D. P. Rowland, W. Maily.

E. J. Cowley and James Mawdsley, delegates of the British Trade Union Congress, were introduced to the delegates and the former made a brief address, returning thanks for their cordial reception, fraternal greeting of the English trade unionists and expressing hopes of success for the work of the Convention.

It was then moved that we take a recess until 2 o'clock, to enable the Credential Committee to prepare a report. Carried.

## FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order at 2:25. The Committee on Credentials reported as follows:

New York, Dec. 9, 1895.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

We, your committee appointed to examine and report on the credentials of the delegates to the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., beg leave to report that we have carefully examined the credentials from the unions and find 83 delegates, and respectfully request the seating of the delegates named. In presenting this report, your Committee on Cre-

entials take pleasure in adding the names of E. Cowley and J. Mawdsley as delegates to this Convention, representing the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, and it affords us unbounded pleasure to recommend to this Convention the seating of these delegates from over the ocean, and the granting to them the full privilege of this Convention.

Committee organized by choice of T. J. Elderkin, Chairman, and T. F. Tracey as clerk.

Delegate Weismann, of Bakers' Union, protested the credential of T. F. Tracey, of Mass. State Branch.

After making his statement and assurances being made that the wishes of the Bakers would be carried out he withdrew his protest.

Moved that the credentials which are not protested be taken up and acted on. Carried.

International Typographical Union, J. W. Bramwood, W. B. Prescott, A. McCraith, W. M. Higgins, 291 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, J. F. Tobin, H. M. Eaton, 100 votes.

National Seamen's Union, A. Fureseth, T. J. Elderkin, 40 votes.

International Association of Machinists, J. O'Connell, R. Ashe, J. J. Creamer, 88 votes.

United Garment Workers, C. F. Reichers, S. H. Jacobson, M. M. Jacobs, 122 votes.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters, P. J. McGuire, D. Rowland, J. J. Linehan, W. F. Plumb, 200 votes.

Journeyman Tailors' Union, J. B. Lennon, E. H. Blick, 42 votes.

Cigar Makers' International Union, W. Neuroth, S. Gompers, J. C. Dernell, J. M. Barnes, 276 votes.

United Mine Workers, P. H. Penna, P. McBryde, W. C. Pearce, 181 votes.

Horse Shoers' National Union, R. Kenahan, 20 votes.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, J. Pearce, 17 votes.

Journeyman Bakers and Confectioners, H. Weismann, 40 votes.

International Longshoremen's Association, D. Keefe, 27 votes.

National Tobacco Workers of America, J. White, 34 votes.

Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees, W. D. Mahon, 25 votes.

Granite Cutters' National Union, J. Duncan, 40 votes.

Amalgamated Association of Marine Water Tenders, E. McGean, 5 votes.

Potters' National Union, T. B. Dennis, 2 votes.

National Cotton Mule Spinners, R. Howard, 24 votes.

Amalgamated Association Iron and Steel Workers, M. M. Garland, 80 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Alliance, D. H. Albers, 16 votes.

Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers, E. P. Usher, 7 votes.

Elastic Goring Weavers, Amalgamated Association, T. Pollard, 4 votes.

American Agents' Association, C. H. Sidenner, 11 votes.

Pattern Makers' National League of N. A., E. H. Diehl, 7 votes.

International Machinists' Union of America, R. Pohle, 5 votes.

International Printing Pressmen's Union, J. Gelson, 25 votes.

Columbia River Fishermen's Union, N. J. Svindseth, 4 votes.

New York State Branch, J. J. Junio, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Branch, T. F. Tracey, 1 vote.

American Diamond Versters, L. Marks, 1 vote.

United Diamond Workers, J. Gompers, 2 votes.

Killmen Dippers and Sagger Makers, J. W. Clark, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union, No. 5915, J. F. O'Sullivan, 1 vote.

Pork Butchers' Union, No. 6423, W. Simpson, 1 vote.

Laborers' Protective Union, No. 5287, P. Costello, 1 vote.

Musicians' Mutual Benefit Association, O. Miller, 4 votes.

Core Makers' Union, No. 5672, J. McCullough, 1 vote.

Bleachers' and Dyers' Union, No. 6489, J. Lanigan, 1 vote.

Manhattan Musical Protective Union, R. A. Mullen, 6 votes.

Blast Furnace Workers' Union, No. 6522, J. Anderson, 3 votes.

Fed. Trades Council, Milwaukee, L. S. Wieman, 1 vote.

Birmingham Trades Council, W. Mailly, 1 vote.

Fed. Labor Union, No. 6540, C. P. McCambridge, 2 votes.

Trades and Labor Union, St. Louis, D. Kreyling, 1 vote.

Council Trades and Labor, Detroit, H. C. Barter, 1 vote.

Industrial Council, Kansas City, P. E. Duffy, 1 vote.

Dowagiac Fed. Labor Union, No. 6560, R. R. Nichol, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Indianapolis, E. A. Perkins, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Scranton, C. S. Benedict, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Boston, F. McCarthy, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Louisville, J. McGill, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Toledo, J. Branschweiger, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Duluth, A. McCallum, 1 vote.

Brooklyn Musical Union, No. 6347, M. Mulcare, 1 vote.

Horse Nails Makers, No. 6170, E. S. Fenning, 1 vote.

Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, F. W. Lee, 1 vote.

Omaha Central Labor Union, F. A. Kennedy, 1 vote.

Actors' Protective Union, J. M. Lawrence, 2 votes.

Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers, T. J. Murphy, 1 vote.

Glass Packers and Sorters, W. J. Dummett, 1 vote.

Central Labor Council, Cincinnati, O., F. L. Rist, 1 vote.

United Standard Engineers, F. A. Boehme, 1 vote.

Furriers' Union, L. Weiss, 5 votes.

Journeyman Barbers' International Union, W. Klapetsky, 15 votes.

Adopted.

The President announced the appointment of Jas. J. Pendergast as assistant secretary; R. F. Pinner, sergeant-at-arms; Geo. Seinner, messenger. Approved.

Committees were appointed by the Chair as follows:

Committee on Rules and Order of Business—Wm. M. Higgins, N. J. Svindseth, F. Lee, D. H. Albers, Jas. O'Connell.

Committee on President's Report—J. F. Tobin, Jas. McGill, Jas. Linehan, R. Mullen, E. H. Diehl.

Committee on Secretary's Report—J. F. O'Sullivan, H. Eaton, P. McBryde, Jas. Gelson, A. Fureseth.

Committee on Resolutions—Sam. Gompers, Robt. Howard, Jas. Duncan, J. W. Bramwood, W. C. Pomeroy.

Committee on Grievances—M. M. Garland, W. D. Mahon, Henry Weismann, D. F. Keefe, E. A. Perkins.

Committee on Laws—P. J. McGuire, W. B. Prescott, Jos. Valentine, J. M. Barnes, P. H. Penna.

Committee on Labels and Boycotts—J. B. Lennon, C. F. Reichers, John Braunschweiger, M. J. Keough, Frank McCarthy.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—

T. B. Dennis, Louis Weiss, F. L. Rist, H. C. Barter, Jas. Sullivan.

Committee on Organization—W. C. Pearce, W. E. Klapetsky, J. C. Dernel, R. Kenehan, James Pearce.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that the reports of the officers be received. Carried.

Delegate Lennon announced that a mass meeting would be held in Cooper Union, this evening and invited all to be present.

First Vice-President McGuire was called to the chair.

#### PRESIDENT McBRIDE'S REPORT.

To the Delegates to the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Comrades and Fellow-Workers:—In compliance with constitutional requirements, and in keeping with the interests of laboring men and women, we meet in annual convention not only for the purpose of reviewing the work of past years, but to consider the present status of organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed labor, and map out a plan of campaign that will enable our forces to meet all the emergencies and provide for present and future necessities.

Meeting as you do in this great city of New York, the metropolis of America, the center of wealth, pauperism and crime, where dependence upon the part of labor almost eliminates that spirit of independence needed to assure good citizenship, where political jugglery with the people's interests on one hand, and reform movements that do not reform on the other, eclipse the labor movement and render it difficult for organized effort to progress as it should, you will be permitted to cast your eyes to Bedloe's Island and feast them upon the sight of the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, and to take a glance at that noted thoroughfare called Wall street, where men learn to prey upon their fellow-men, where a few men concoct schemes which, when put into operation, enable them to demand and collect tribute from the people of all sections of our country, and, to our shame be it said, frequently defy the government by threatening to throttle it financially, a threat that, because of our peculiar system of finances, they are able to execute successfully.

The duty assigned to you by your constituents should be done fearlessly, but with a proper regard for the rights of all men. The task which you have before you is not a light one, but prompted by the aims and purposes of our grand organization to alleviate labor's ills, ameliorate its conditions and improve its conditions, the work to be done should be a work of love.

#### MAINLY PERSONAL.

Prior to and at the time of my election to the presidency I was on the sick list, and it was only upon the assurance of my physician that a few days' time would fit me for duty, that I wired the Convention of my acceptance of the position.

A return to work before my health warranted caused a relapse, and although hoping for improvement from day to day, and endeavoring to remain at my post of duty and do the work assigned me, I was finally compelled to quit and give time and attention to the work of recuperating health. I was out of the office nearly two months, during which time Vice-President James Duncan, acted as president, and rendered services satisfactory to all interests involved.

Upon my return to the office I found that the expenditures were largely in excess of the income, and that the condition of our treasury would not permit of extensive or expensive field work, hence I only visited such places as were convenient and inexpensive, and devoted the major portion of my time to office work, and the work of getting out our official magazine as economically as its standard of merit permitted.

The office force was also reduced so that outside of the secretary only a stenographer is employed, pauperism and crime, where dependence upon the part of labor almost eliminates that policy.

Later in the year, when our finances warranted my doing so, I visited different cities and addressed a number of meetings.

#### OFFICIAL MAGAZINE.

It affords me pleasure to be able to report that our official magazine, the *American Federationist*, has achieved success not only as a literary production, but in a financial way.

At the end of the year 1894, there was a debt of \$539.33 against it, while on October 31, last, the amount had been reduced to \$31.10 and at the end of last month the indebtedness was not only obliterated but a balance of \$100 placed to its credit, thus showing a financial gain in eleven months' time of over six hundred dollars.

As editor of the magazine I neither favored nor discriminated against any school of economic thought, but invited, received and published articles treating upon every phase of economic belief, insisting only upon contributions possessing some literary merit before accepting them for publication.

On behalf of the American Federation of Labor and through you I desire to thank the editors of the labor press throughout the country for their friendly comments, and the many writers who have contributed to the success of the magazine by gratuitously devoting their time and

talent upon articles furnished us for publication.

The success of the magazine is assured, but it should do more than pay for itself; it should be made a source of revenue, and it can be if you will urge upon your constituency the necessity for increasing the circulation of this cheap and popular educator. It is your magazine and its success means your success.

#### IMPROVEMENT UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

While there has been and is now a material improvement in trade conditions, as compared to those of the previous two and one-half years, yet the improvement has not been as pronounced as press reports would lead us to believe, and such as it was, beneficial as it has been, it did not relieve the strain upon the American Federation of Labor until late in the year. This because nearly all affiliated organizations had created obligations, during the continued industrial depression, that had to be discharged before their obligations to us could be met.

Regardless of the many disadvantages under which the Federation labored during the year such progress was made in our work that I am able to congratulate you upon the fact that both numerically and financially the American Federation is stronger today than it was at the end of 1894, and to assure you that the prospects for the future are full of promise for the success of the trade union movement. The Secretary's report calls attention to the work done in the way of adding new National, Central Labor, Federal Labor and Local Unions during the year.

#### STRIKES.

The year 1895 has been noted for the large number of small or local, rather than large prolonged strikes. The most pleasing feature of contests of this character between employer and employed, was the uniform success met with in the way of obtaining higher wages and improved conditions of employment.

The most stubbornly contested strikes were those of the Garment Workers in eastern cities, and while in each case the workers did not secure all they demanded and were entitled to, they resulted in gains of such a beneficial character, that every member of the craft should take pride in sustaining their National Union, which originated the demands, inaugurated and successfully conducted the fight for improved conditions.

The largest and longest strike of the year was that of the coal miners in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia and Virginia. This strike was due to a failure of miners and operators to agree upon the price to be paid for mining, and at one time over sixty thousand men were engaged, and a large number were out for several months.

The settlements made, while giving higher prices to mine laborers, did not give the satisfaction and security that the strikers wanted, and because of this, the year has been one of agitation and uncertainty in mining districts. The officials of the United Mine Workers have had a hard year's work, and it now looks as though their efforts to bring order out of chaos would be rewarded by not only securing higher wages but by wiping out of existence the company, or as it is better known, the truck store system, a system by which mine workers have been shamefully robbed.

#### THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

The placing and removing of boycotts, together with the success or non-success of this method of warfare, and the decisions made in disputes between or raised by affiliated bodies, will be reported on by the Executive Council, and while assuring you that the work performed by the Executive Council was prompted by their best judgment and with a view of doing justice to all interests involved, I only ask for the report such consideration and treatment at your hands as you believe its merits warrant.

#### CITY, CENTRAL AND STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

Complete trade autonomy to affiliated national and international unions is the basis upon which the American Federation of Labor was builded, and its future welfare and success can only be assured by a strict adherence to basic principles.

Voluminous laws are not needed to regulate the relationship between the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations, but there is an absolute necessity for a constitutional provision clearly defining the duty and power of central labor organizations and state federations of labor.

The central labor organizations and state federations were intended to serve as auxiliaries to the trade and labor movement, but in no sense were they intended to interfere either with the autonomy of the trades or encroach upon matters under the jurisdiction of the trade unions, except in a way of lending a helping hand when called upon by a trade union in distress.

The central unions and state federations have proved themselves powerful and valuable aids to the trade unions in the work of organizing, strengthening and encouraging local unions, in helping to win many a hard fought fight for an amelioration of trade conditions, and for giving to the tradesmen within the cities and states under their jurisdiction, recognition, standing and benefits which they could not have enjoyed in the absence of the work done by these bodies.

While recognizing and admitting the beneficent workings of central bodies and state branches, we must not close our eyes to their faults and failings.

In the past year several instances are recorded in which members of local unions, working under contracts with employers, were ordered by the central organization to cease work and go out on strike for the purpose of aiding members of some other union who had a dispute with the same employer. The members thus ordered out on strike were placed in an embarrassing position. To quit work and violate the terms of their contract, without any provocation from their employer with whom the contract was made, was to act dishonorably, while to continue at work and

disobey the order of the central body was to court denunciation and expulsion from membership in the latter body.

It is clearly evident that if a trade union possesses the right to make contracts upon trade matters, no central union should either assume or be delegated the right to ask for or insist upon the violation of such contracts. It is here that the work of the trade union and the central body conflicts.

Whether contracts are made by a local union direct, or through its national or international union, proper and careful consideration should be given to the effect of such contract upon those who labor for the same employer, but not included in the contract terms.

In 1894 the Executive Council tried to remedy the defect here referred to, by the adoption of a resolution which provided, "That contracts made by unions with their employers should be faithfully lived up to by the unions so long as they are not violated by employers; and the occurrence of any trade dispute with such employer by other unions than those having contracts shall not be the cause for the violation of agreements by such unions as have regular contracts."

If this rule or something similar was made the law, much future trouble could be avoided.

#### LEGISLATION.

The passage of the McGuire bill, by Congress, afforded some relief to seamen, but not all that they required. I would advise that your efforts in their behalf be continued until the laws of our country are so strengthened that they will guarantee protection and fair treatment to every seaman that sails under our flag.

The Phillips bill, providing for a commission to enquire into and report upon the legislation needed by labor, did not become a law, but its author, Mr. Phillips, has been re-elected and will endeavor to secure its passage at the present session of Congress, and steps should be taken by this Convention to aid him in his effort.

In accordance with instructions from the last Convention, bills have been prepared, and will be presented to you for endorsement, providing for a uniform label law, and a law restricting the power of the Federal courts in injunction cases.

These two measures should receive the united and energetic support of every labor organization and every laboring man in the land, because one protects fair made goods and fair products, whereas the other protects fair men from injustice at the hands of arbitrary and autocratic courts.

I believe that the non-success of our efforts in the past was due to our having presented and urged the passage of too many measures at one time, and because of this belief I would advise that instead of asking for all that we desire and need, that three or four measures be selected and your whole strength devoted to the work of having them enacted into laws. The experience of the past five years has demonstrated that much labor and money have been wasted in efforts to secure desired legislation, because the statutory enactment secured had but a short life and met death at the edge of the constitutional axe.

The constitution of the national and many of the state governments stands today as a monument to the past greatness and grandness of our country. These constitutions were made and adopted for the purpose of protecting men and methods now dead. They are not suited for the changed industrial conditions and improved mental status of the present time, hence if the modern environments of labor are to be ameliorated by legislation, in keeping with the progress of our people along commercial and industrial lines, it might be well to turn our attention to the cutting away of these constitutional barriers which invalidate legislation enacted in the people's interests.

#### IMMIGRATION.

Inasmuch as the last Convention decided that no further restriction of immigration was needed except in the work of keeping out such laborers as come here under contract, all criminals other than political, and such persons as are likely to become a public charge, it would be well for this Convention to give some attention to the adoption of methods by which assistance can be given to government officials who seek to ferret out and punish those who violate the alien labor law.

The Bureau of Immigration reports that many complaints are made to the bureau, by officials of labor organizations, concerning specific cases in which the law has been violated, but when the bureau has sent officials to investigate, the parties complaining have either had no information to give or refused to give it, if they had it. This is wrong. The laxity of the law, or the law's application, is bad enough, but as the law was passed at the urgent request of organized labor, the government officials should not be given an opportunity to charge a failure of the law's operation to the non-cooperation of the officials of organizations whose members require protection from immigrants of that character the law was designed to exclude from our shores.

#### THE BOND DEAL.

The greatest crime of the nineteenth century, and the most remarkable ever perpetrated upon our people, was that committed by the present national administration in adding to the bonded indebtedness of our country during a time of peace.

The attempt to maintain a gold reserve of one hundred million dollars, by a contract such as was made with Belmont-Morgan syndicate was farcical to say the least, but a farce only in so far as it was intended to blind the people to the fact that they were being robbed, deliberately and unmercifully, in the interests of eastern bankers and bondholders whose only desire has been and now is the perpetuation of a system of bonded indebtedness on part of the government.

The wickedness of the bond deal was exposed by the syndicate advancing gold to the government one day to increase the reserve, and the next day decreasing the reserve by handing in matured securities and getting gold for them, and with this gold purchasing new bonds having a long lease of life. The eastern bankers, if permitted, will continue draining the gold reserve

until new bonds replace the old ones and an interest-bearing indebtedness has been again established and the life of national banks prolonged beyond the present generation of men.

The bankers are not in business for their health, and they do not care what misery they plunge the country into, how embarrassed the government becomes, or how heavily the people are taxed so long as their profits are assured; and why should they? They are not to blame.

It is humiliating, however, to think, at the close of the nineteenth century, that a national administration can be found supine enough, or corrupt enough, to permit the government to be held up and plundered, as ours has been plundered during the last year and a half.

In the early days of this government, when statesmen and not politicians were guiding the ship of state, the banks were subordinate to the government, but today the government is at the mercy of the banks, and the bankers dictate our system of finance and laugh at the protests of the people against the tyranny of their rule.

You should not only protest by resolution against the crime committed, but bring your influence to bear upon your representatives in Congress to the end that they may provide against a repetition, or a continuance of this great crime.

#### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES.

The work done by the British Trade Union Congress, held in Cardiff, Wales, September last, will be reported upon by our delegates, P. J. McGuire and Samuel Compers. The Congress decided to continue the system of international work and elected Mr. Edward Cowes and Mr. James Mawdsley to represent them in this Convention, and I feel assured that you will accord them a hearty welcome and make their visit a pleasant one.

I am notified by William Thorne, Secretary of the Organization Committee of Trade Unions and the International Socialist Workers that their international Congress will meet in London, probably in the month of August, in 1896, and the American Federation of Labor are invited to send one or two delegates. The matter is now in your hands for such action as you may determine upon.

#### SHORTER WORKDAYS.

The supply of labor in this country is greater than the demand for it, hence the power of production exceeds the force of consumption.

Surplus labor is used as a lever to reduce wages, lengthen the hours of labor and increase the burden of toil on the part of the employed. Low wages and partly employed labor limits the means to purchase and thus prevents consumption to such an extent that often threatens life, always robs production of its proper value by reason of insane competition in labor and in the market of labor's product.

Our workdays should be short enough to permit the employment of every wage worker in the land. Such a system would be based upon the principles of philosophical truth, of equal and exact justice between man and man, between employer and employed.

At this time the establishment of an eight-hour work day would secure such a system, by giving more days' work and employing more workers, by providing more leisure and less idleness, by forcing production and stimulating consumption through means of purchase being provided for all who labor.

An elaborate argument is not needed to convince you that our working men and women have not received a fair share of the benefits accruing from invention and machinery, either in increased pay or in a decreased number of hours they are required to labor for a day's pay.

You will readily agree with the decision reached by the last Convention that a shorter work day is needed to ameliorate the conditions in life of our wage workers.

I desire to remind you, however, that it is now your duty to determine upon the feasibility of inaugurating a movement to establish the eight-hour work day, rather than to consider the beneficent results which would follow its accomplishments; to determine whether a fight shall be waged for its establishment, and, if you so conclude, to provide for a campaign in which one or all of our affiliated organizations may become direct participants.

#### POLITICAL ACTION.

Have we a political program? This is a disputed question. The Denver Convention by separate and distinct votes adopted twelve declarations of political belief, but a motion to adopt as a whole, was defeated, and in consequence of this, it is held by some that the previous declarations were invalidated, while others are of the opinion that each declaration was complete in itself, and that the motion to adopt as a whole was superfluous, and its adoption or rejection by the Convention could neither add to or take from the declarations previously made. In my judgment the latter position is the correct one, but I have not been called upon to render a decision on the question, and to satisfy those who entertain doubts in the matter, I ask that you clearly define the position you intend to hold along political lines.

Whether the declarations made at the Denver Convention are approved or disapproved by you, the self-evident truth confronts us that wage workers cannot hope to be free in the shops, mines and factories while trudging in party slavery to the polls.

We cannot close our eyes and thus conceal the glaring defects in our governmental treatment of industrial labor, nor will we be permitted to much longer neglect our duty to the people's interests, and allow to go on unchecked and unchanged a system of distribution in the value of labor's production which had its greatest achievement during the last decade, according to the late census, in the phenomenal growth of wealth, pauperism and crime.

We are compelled to admit, as we have long recognized, that the denial of that liberty of action which permits men and women to organize for mutual aid and protection, comes largely from corporations engaged in operating plants of a public character, and the franchises of which they obtained from the people.

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The railroad, telegraph and telephone corporations in a national sense, and the street railway, electric plant, and water works corporations in a municipal way, are more responsible for the curtailment of liberty, on the part of the employees, than is all the manufacturing and producing capital in this country. To destroy this species of tyranny and oppression, and to restore and maintain for employees the greatest individual liberty consistent with public good, will necessitate the nationalizing of railroads, telegraphs and telephones, and the municipal ownership of street railways, electric light, gas and water work plants. The people's interests can be better subserved by employing public servants, than they can by the people themselves remaining servants and serfs to individuals or corporations of the character named, besides the profits of operation should accrue to the people rather than to individuals.

As an organization we may decide to leave politics alone, but unfortunately for the interests of the organization and its members politics will not let us alone, hence we are compelled not from a sentimental but from a purely business standpoint to consider and act politically in such a manner and along such lines as will yield practical results to the trade union movement in its efforts to ameliorate the wage workers' condition in life.

We may not be agreed as to the scope of political work needed, and we may differ as to the methods employed in political reform work, but regardless of our differences in opinion as to either scope or methods, we will recognize the necessity of doing something and doing it in a manner that will insure the hearty co-operation of all our forces.

The ideal state of society, or form of government, aimed at by State Socialists, Philosophical Anarchists, Populists, Single Taxers and others, should not be permitted to stand in the way of immediate and practical efforts, because the ideal state of society hoped for can only be reached, if ever it is reached, by an educational evolutionary process, which means too great delay to suit the masses of our wage workers who are asking for relief from the ills of today, rather than agitating for reform that will secure the comfort and happiness of coming generations.

According to the most reliable statistics obtainable there are fully twenty-three millions of persons employed, or should be, at gainful occupations in this country, and in view of the fact that about one-tenth of that number are members of organized labor, and only a large portion of the latter in the American Federation of Labor, it would be a useless waste of time and effort for you to attempt political reform work along independent party lines.

While disagreeing over different isms, we all agree that reforms are needed, and that it should be our purpose at this time to act only on matters of moment upon which all are in hearty accord, and if this is done it will be an easy matter to form a plan of action both political and co-operative that will succeed in taking from our federal courts powers which have lately been arrogated by and not delegated to them; to agree upon a method for shortening the hours of labor, by legislation, to eight per day, or less, thus enhancing the value of work and wages.

At this time it is not independent party, but independent voting that will accomplish beneficent and speedy results. By co-operating in the support of men and measures favorable to labor interests you would soon have all parties striving to secure the votes of organized labor; by this method the nationalizing of the means of transportation and communication could be accomplished and the municipal ownership of water, heat, light and power plants be assured.

#### THE MISSION OF TRADE UNIONS.

While the recognized special mission of the trade unions has always been that of regulating the conditions of employment, and the securing of proper remuneration therefor, in the interests of those who toil for wages, it must not be forgotten that the trades union movement has a general mission, and a world-wide work to perform in its efforts to establish the brotherhood of man regardless of creed, color or nationality. The history of the trade union movement in all lands is the history of civilization and industrial progress; of an increase in the individual liberty and collective rights of man. It has at all times striven to eradicate wrong wherever found, and to establish systems of social, industrial and governmental character that would give fair treatment to all members of the human family; although often defeated in its aims and purposes its members are never conquered, at times discouraged over "hopes deferred" they are never disheartened, but are always found at their post of duty, and willing to battle for human rights.

As trade unionists we have been taught to hate tyranny and oppression in all forms, and our teaching causes us to feel sympathy for, and when opportunity offers extend a helping hand to, all those who struggle to free themselves from influences and power which enslave and degrade mankind, and at this time it affords me pleasure to say, and I believe I voice the sentiment of every member of the American Federation of Labor in saying it, that every heartbeat of American Labor is an expression of our sympathy with, and our hopes for the success of the gallant band of patriotic Cubans who are now risking life and property in their efforts to obtain freedom.

What stronger evidence can be given to the world to demonstrate that the spirit of liberty and progress still lives than that of Cuba, formerly the slave mart of the western world, now shaken from center to circumference by a revolt for freedom on the part of men, or the sons of men, who a few years ago were sold as slaves to the highest bidder. The Cuban revolt is in itself deserving of a consideration and recognition at our hands, but when we remember that the Spanish dynasty has always evidenced hostility to republican government, even in the case of this country we should be all the more determined to insist upon fair treatment being extended by the Congress of the United States to the revolutionists of Cuba, and I trust ere this convention adjourns, you will have adopted resolutions petitioning congress to at least recognize Cubans as belligerents.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

Throughout my term of office consideration and kindness has been extended to me by officers and members of our affiliated unions, and I desire not only to acknowledge the deep sense of obligation which I feel, but to express my sincere appreciation of their friendship and co-operation.



My official and personal relations with members of the executive council, and especially with your able, efficient and hardworking secretary, have been of the most pleasant character, and through you, I desire to tender them my thanks, and to express the appreciation I feel for their fraternal treatment and their willingness to assist at all times and under all circumstances, in the work of making my administration a successful, and I trust, a satisfactory one so far as labor's interests are concerned.

Comrades in the labor movement, the eyes of your constituency are centered upon the convention, and upon its work the toiling men and women of America have based their hopes of emancipation from environments which oppress and wrong them. Do not disappoint them and court failure by undertaking to do more than you have the strength to accomplish. Do not permit enthusiasm or resentment to direct your efforts, but let that reason and intelligence which you possess lead you in the work of marking out a policy which, when followed, will surely mitigate if it does not entirely eradicate the wrongs suffered by our wage workers. Aim to be practical, reasonable and just in your conclusions, and success must follow.

Delegate Lennon said that Geo. E. McNeil, a veteran in the labor movement was present, and he would move that he be given a seat without vote.

Delegate Garland moved that the President's report be referred to the proper committee. Carried.

Delegate Lennon repeated his motion to seat Mr. McNeil. Carried.

#### SECRETARY'S REPORT.

To the Members of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow Workers—I have the honor to submit to you a report of the receipts and expenses for the fiscal year, beginning November 1, 1894, and ending October 31, 1895, the first two months of which were under the old board of officers. Although we have a comfortable balance on hand I cannot say that the receipts have been as good as the average of recent years. The causes of this are general and well-known to all of you who have been actively engaged in the labor movement. The effects of the panic of '94 extended far into the current year, and many of our unions, while holding up bravely, have suffered considerably, nevertheless, in common with all industry. Our members thrown out of employment wandered into other fields, and thus the unions lost their support. Latterly, however, signs of improvement have been noticed, not because of any important economic progress on the part of our rulers, but rather because bed-rock was reached and natural laws asserted themselves in spite of them. Our unions are reviving slowly, but surely, and many advances have been made, increasing wages and reducing hours, during the past few months; and while we can not expect great results under existing industrial conditions, at their best, still we can confidently hope for better things in the near future, if nothing out of the ordinary intervenes.

During the year we have had some heavy items of expense to meet consequent upon the orders, of the Denver convention, which, in conjunction with diminished returns, have handicapped your officers greatly in the work of organization, assisting subordinate unions and in divers other ways. The heaviest of these items were: Defense of Tazewell County (Ill.) miners, \$100; Bakers' International Union \$150; Metal Polishers National Union, \$250; to secure pardon of Dempsey and Beatty, Homestead men, \$250; defense of Eugene V. Debs, \$250; lecturing tour of English delegates, Burns and Holmes, \$403.77; moving headquarters, \$583.49; committee at Washington on seamen's bills, \$673.75; delegates to British Trade Union Congress, Cardiff, Wales, \$806. Making a total of \$3,467.01 on nine items.

While nearly all of the above appropriations were absolutely necessary, some of them were not, and it would be well for us to bear in mind when disposing of our resources in the present and future the pertinence and truth of the old maxim, that charity begins at home, that sentiment and business will not mix, and that it is bad policy to keep your officers and organizers confined to the possibilities of parsimony in any contingency. On more than one occasion we have been compelled to refuse assistance to our struggling unions combating against unequal odds for living conditions, and we cannot but be convinced that an expenditure of our aid and power will nowhere be better appreciated, nor do better work, than right in the vicinity of our own hearthstone.

Following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the year. With the exception of October and November of '94 (under the old constitution and board of officers) all financial transactions have been published in detail in the American Federationist, and one copy has been sent to each union affiliated.

#### RECEIPTS.

	Per Capita Tax	Supplies	Federationist	Adv.in list of organ
November .....	\$1,082 33	\$131 48	\$ 61 80	
December .....	880 42	152 35	277 65	
January .....	415 57	116 49	306 00	
February .....	265 95	173 22	39 43	
March .....	662 84	232 36	194 58	
April .....	672 00	162 57	321 69	
May .....	750 91	175 26	169 95	
June .....	289 11	186 96	352 78	
July .....	572 18	126 99	151 70	
August .....	380 85	189 95	251 15	
September .....	785 02	170 15	197 00	\$18 00
October .....	1,635 77	300 81	360 48	38 00
	<u>\$8,392 95</u>	<u>\$2,118 59</u>	<u>\$3,184 21</u>	<u>\$56 00</u>

EXPENSES.		
	General	Federationist
November .....	\$ 825 44	\$ 199 27
December .....	1,952 04	787 06
January .....	2,873 23	301 57
February .....	1,219 08	123 34
March .....	831 84	141 60
April .....	728 01	114 57
May .....	696 80	112 40
June .....	493 99	303 42
July .....	503 86	127 94
August .....	1,222 84	116 14
September .....	683 70	106 84
October .....	905 61	241 83
	\$12,936 44	\$2,675 98

## RECAPITULATION.

RECEIPTS.		
Balance on hand November 1, 1894 .....	\$5,191 79	
Per capita tax .....	8,392 95	
Supplies .....	2,118 59	
Federationist .....	3,184 21	
Ads. in list of organizations .....	56 00	
		\$18,943 54

EXPENSES.		
General .....	\$12,936 44	
Federationist .....	2,675 98	
		\$15,612 42

Balance on hand, October 31, 1895 .....

Following is a grouping as near as possible under their several heads of the detailed monthly expenses:

Burns and Holmes lecturing tour (English delegates) .....	\$ 403 77
Moving headquarters from New York to Indianapolis, including freightage, fares, furniture, carpentering, exchanging safe, etc. . . . .	583 49
Two delegates to British Trade Union Congress, Cardiff, Wales . . . . .	250 00
To secure pardon of Dempsey and Beatty, imprisoned Homestead men . . . . .	250 00
Defense of Eugene V. Debs .....	100 00
Defense of Tazewell County Miners .....	250 00
Metal Polishers International Union (by vote of convention) . . . . .	150 00
Bakers International Union, donation .....	63 75
Quarreyment's National Union, donation .....	50 00
Amalgamated Street Railway Employees, donation .....	673 75
Committee on Seamen's Bills (by vote of convention) .....	97 40
Stenographer at Denver Convention .....	442 00
Rent .....	322 15
Printing seven days' proceedings, etc., of Denver convention, at Denver .....	422 60
Printing same at New York .....	222 12
Printing debate on Political Program .....	632 73
General Printing .....	576 18
Supplies for affiliated unions .....	33 00
Auditing Committee at Denver .....	68 39
Office Supplies .....	331 62
Postage and Envelopes .....	115 71
Expressage .....	30 35
Telegrams .....	55 05
Organizers' expenses, postage, fares, etc. ....	375 00
Salaries—Samuel Gompers, president, two and a half months .....	375 00
Chris Evans, secretary, three months .....	1,237 50
John McBride, president, eight months and six days .....	1,250 00
August McCraith, secretary, ten months .....	285 00
James Duncan, acting president, from February 24 to April 22 . . . . .	200 00
John B. Lennon, treasurer, balance on '94 \$100, and '95 \$100 . . . . .	313 75
Clerks (two and a half months in New York, one and a quarter months, Indianapolis) .....	69 00
Boys, New York, two and a half months .....	607 34
Stenographer .....	61 00
Assistant secretary, sergeant-at-arms, and janitor at Denver convention . . . . .	7 00
Attending meeting executive council, James Brettel, third vice-president . . . . .	13 25
Attending meeting executive council in New York City, January 1-3: . . . . .	34 50
F. J. McGuire, first vice-president .....	75 00
James Duncan, second vice-president .....	10 50
T. J. Elderkin, fourth vice-president .....	
John B. Lennon, treasurer .....	

Attending meeting of executive council at Denver, P. J. McGuire, 1st vice-president .....	\$	8	50
Attending meeting executive council at Indianapolis:			
P. J. McGuire, first vice-president .....		72	50
James Duncan, second vice-president .....		43	00
T. J. Elderkin, third vice-president .....		35	00
John B. Lennon, treasurer .....		79	00
Railroad and hotel expenses of James Duncan, 2d vice-president .....		34	00
Traveling expenses of Chris Evans to Denver .....		130	20
Same to Nelsonville, Ohio .....		5	30
Same of Samuel Gompers to Denver .....		52	00
Same to Trenton and return .....		4	70
Services on Brewers disagreement, T. J. Elderkin .....		12	00
P. J. McGuire, attending Cleveland convention of Musicians National League and investigation by Columbus, O., Trades Council of charges against President McBride .....		68	00
Traveling and hotel expenses of president .....		340	95
Same of secretary .....		9	40
Heat and light .....		34	20
Newspapers for office at New York and Indianapolis .....		13	35
Janitor .....		76	50
Insurance of office furniture, supplies, etc. ....		14	00
Miscellaneous .....		59	58

Following is a comparative statement for the past nine years:

1887.			
Total receipts .....		\$2,100	34
Expenses .....		2,074	39
			\$25 95
1888.			
Balance on hand .....	\$	25	95
Receipts .....		4,512	55
Expenses .....		4,538	50
			\$604 83
1889.			
Balance on hand .....	\$	604	83
Receipts .....		6,838	40
Expenses .....		7,443	23
			\$864 90
1890.			
Balance on hand .....	\$	864	90
Receipts .....		23,849	74
Expenses .....		24,714	64
			\$3,644 07
1891.			
Balance on hand .....	\$	3,644	07
Receipts .....		17,702	36
Expenses .....		21,346	43
			\$8,156 36
1892.			
Balance on hand .....	\$	8,156	36
Receipts .....		17,834	51
Expenses .....		25,990	87
			\$7,666 18
1893.			
Balance on hand .....	\$	7,666	18
Receipts .....		20,864	62
Expenses .....		28,530	80
			\$7,147 44
1894.			
Balance on hand .....	\$	7,147	44
Receipts .....		15,346	43
Expenses .....		22,493	87
			\$5,191 79
1895.			
Balance on hand .....	\$	5,191	79
Receipts .....		13,751	75
Expenses .....		18,943	54
			\$3,331 12

## THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

At the beginning of the year the *American Federationist* had a debt hanging over of \$539.33, which has been reduced to \$31.10, as follows:

RECEIPTS.	
Advertising .....	\$2,864 12
Subscriptions .....	301 01
Copies .....	19 08
	\$3,184 21
EXPENSES.	
Printing .....	\$1,788 38
Commission on advertising .....	870 50
Miscellaneous .....	17 10
	\$2,675 98
Excess of receipts over expenses .....	\$ 508 23
RECAPITULATION.	
Debt of 1894 .....	\$ 539 33
Net gain of 1895 .....	508 23
Debt existing October 31, 1895 .....	\$31 10

The labor press generally has felt the depressing influences of the past year, both in the subscription and advertising departments, and while we can feel justly proud of the above showing, indicating as it does, that our official magazine is on a firm basis, and not the least favored and influential of its class, yet we know that it could be made a crowning success and power for good did it receive the support it so well deserves. Nothing could be of more value to the labor movement than an influential medium of the kind, and it seems strange that notwithstanding the interests of trade unionists are so poorly cared for in the general newspaper world and that much for pecuniary motives, that they do not respond to the appeals of the labor press for support with greater unanimity. But such is the fact, nevertheless. We, as trade unionists, owe much to those of our number who have and are devoting their time and labor to the educational features—the grandest and best of all—of the labor movement, and who receive but a meagre compensation in return. And yet it would appear from much observation, not to say unrequited effort, that about the last debt the average individual liquidates is his subscription to his labor journal. It ought to be the first. Nevertheless, it is gratifying to note, and it is somewhat of a paradox, that the labor press is growing and there are not so many failures as of yore. Fortunately there are a number of painstaking and earnest writers in our movement who are willing and ready to devote their time to literary contributions and accept a "thank you" as compensation. All the same, this ought not to be. The laborer is worthy of his hire here as elsewhere, and with a deeper interest on the part of our members in their own magazine it would not be. We will take this opportunity, however, to publicly tender our thanks to the several able writers who generously contributed to the *American Federationist* in the past; and also let us not forget our advertisers, without whose support our influence in this respect would be nil.

The work of organizing has vastly improved the past few months, and we may look for good results in this respect in the immediate future. Considering the resources at their command our organizers have made a creditable showing. Under the guidance of our central bodies, they should receive better encouragement and financial support. This is a matter deserving of the consideration of our executive council, who I have no doubt will be pleased to do so provided our finances will permit. During the year the following national and international unions have been granted charters: Amalgamated Lace Curtain Operators; Potters National Union; International Association of Machinists; Tobacco Workers National Union; American Agents Association; Granite Cutters National Union; International Printing Pressmens Union, and Boot and Shoe Workers International Union. The following central labor unions have been chartered: Knox County (Me.) Central Labor Union, Industrial Council of Kansas City, (Mo.); San Antonio (Tex.) Trades Council; Trades and Labor Council of Piqua, (O.); Cincinnati (O.) Central Labor Council, Fargo (N. D.) Federated Trades Council; Scranton, (Pa.) Central Labor Union, and Rockford (Ill.) Central Labor Union. There have been 141 charters granted to local and federal labor unions, and quite a number have been received and forwarded to national bodies through headquarters, and directly by our organizers, who are deserving of the greatest praise for their uniring efforts in this work. Eleven applications were rejected.

Following is a report of the subscriptions received for the defense of Eugene V. Debs, all of which have been regularly forwarded:

Donation by American Federation of Labor .....	\$ 250 00
Dec. 14—L. U. 257, U. B. Carpenters and Joiners of America .....	2 50
L. U. 699, U. B. Carpenters and Joiners of America .....	5 00
P. J. McGuire, Philadelphia, Pa. ....	5 00
Jan. 19.—Hod Carriers Protective, 6266 .....	3 00
Stove Mounters International .....	5 00
Trade and Labor Council, Lansing Mich. ....	5 00
Musicians Mutual Benefit Association, St. Louis .....	5 00
21—Paper Carriers Protective and Benefit Union, 5783 .....	5 00
Street Railway Laborers Protective Union, 6312 .....	5 00
23—Teamsters and Yardmens Union, 3796 .....	5 00

	23—Tobacco Workers, 4087 .....	\$ 10 00
	Packing House Employees, 6393 .....	5 00
	Journeyman Bakers and Confectioners, Pueblo, Col. ....	2 00
	Miners Protective Association, 6395 .....	5 00
	25—Carriage Hardware Workers Union, 6419 .....	2 36
	Trade and Labor Union, St. Louis .....	10 00
	27—Miners and Mine Laborers, 6371 .....	5 00
	28—Reed, Rattan and Willow Workers, 6454 .....	5 00
	30—Marble, Granite and Slate Polishers, St. Louis .....	5 00
	Willow, Reed and Rattan Workers, 3462 .....	5 00
	Tobacco Laborers Protective, 6043 .....	5 00
	Federal Labor Union, 6346 .....	10 00
	31—Federal Labor Union 6403, Hamilton, Ohio .....	1 00
Feb.	1—Expressmen's Protective Union, 6467 .....	2 00
	2—Pattern Makers Association, Pittsburg, Pa. ....	5 00
	6—Stationery Firemen, 6406 .....	5 00
	8—Silver and Bisque Warehouse Ladies Federal Labor Union	
	6416 .....	2 00
	Glost Burnishers Protective Union 6234 .....	5 00
	11—Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee .....	25 00
	12—Theatrical Brotherhood, St. Louis .....	5 00
	12—Trunk Makers Protective, 6353 .....	2 00
	14—John Whalen, Yonkers, N. Y. ....	2 20
	Cloak Makers Union, Baltimore, Md. ....	5 00
	16—Stove Moulders Art. and Ben. Union, St. Louis .....	2 00
	Typographical Union, 104 .....	10 00
	18—Coal Handlers Protective Union, 6263 .....	5 00
	23—Can Solderers Protective Union, 6153 .....	5 00
	27—Cotton and Mule Spinners Association, New Bedford, Mass.	5 00
Mar.	1—Tailors' Union, 212 .....	10 00
	Street Railway Union, Spokane, Wash. ....	10 00
	Card Machine Operators, Worcester, Mass. ....	8 75
	5—Central Labor Union, Louisville, Ky. ....	60 00
	8—Tobacco Wrappers and Feeders, 5778 .....	10 00
	19—Cigarmakers' Union, 32 .....	15 00
	27—Cigarmakers' Union, 114 .....	17 00
April	8—Columbia River Fishermen's Protective Union, 6321 .....	30 00
	26—Trades Council, Paducah, Ky. ....	20 00
May	9—Carriage and Wagon Workers Union, 30 .....	10 00
	31—United Standard Engineers, 5608 .....	3 00
	Total .....	\$ 644 81

(The total amount contributed to the Deb's fund this year and last was \$1,386.41.)

While we cannot report any great apparent gains in the field of labor during the past year, the agitation and education that is progressing along economic lines is particularly noticeable. The constant attack upon things as they are is telling, and the forces of labor are continually being augmented by recruits from other fields than its own, but whose interests are the same. The ranks of the dissatisfied are swelling from year to year. The term "labor agitator" is no longer a mark of opprobrium in the mouth of the idler and sycophant. Books of our kind are increasing. Pamphlets and newspaper columns treat of the all-important problem, the equitable distribution of labor's product. We have drawn on the pen of the novelist and student in almost all classes, and the editorial pen generally has suffered a change. As yet we are in the minority, it is true, but an active and intelligent minority is better than an ignorant, lethargic majority at any time. Having done as much against the greatest of odds, what can we not do with greater and increasing facilities? The future is ours, and the immediate must be devoted to education along the same lines. We cannot and do not expect any radical, beneficent changes to-day. We cannot hope for purity in influential places while ignorance can be moulded like clay at the bottom. Our plan is to dispel the clouds and let the light enter. And while doing this let us hold fast to that which we have in the industrial field, by building up our trade unions in all ways and striking a blow wherever possible; and if meeting with occasional defeat let us bear it manfully, remembering there is another day before us to try again, until finally constant dropping wears away the stone. And no matter what plans we may devise, political or otherwise, when promoting them as best we may, let us cling steadfast to our trade unions, born in adversity, the growth of experience, beyond the days of experiment, and which have already done so much for us. There are many theories advanced for the solution of the labor problem, all with good intent and some with merit. But it is a problem which cannot be solved in a day nor in a lifetime. We know the evils are fundamental, are deeply, firmly rooted, that they are strongly protected with all the force that possession gives, that wealth and a blinded self-interest can command. We may rely upon it the favored will not be dislodged without a long and bitter struggle. Admitting this, as we must, shall we give up those weapons with which we now combat, even if they be but minor in effect, to take up that which, while promising and aiming at much, we know cannot beget results but in the far distant future. Common sense would dictate a negative answer; would say, teach fundamental principles and truth by all means, making sure that it is truth, but do not unnecessarily sacrifice your present advantage to do it. Strive for greater ends surely, in the future, but in the meantime get what you can in the present. Get Heaven if you will, but do not commit suicide in the attempt. We are not aiming at any particular "ism," but all of them. Most of us are "ismites," and that is why we know we must hold fast to our

old methods while preparing for the new. And these old methods, the strike, the boycott, legislative tinkering, we all know do not go to the roots, are not correct in principle, and are not lasting in effect. They may not bind the future, but they do grasp something in the present. We strike because we thus get higher wages, less hours, greater independence; we boycott when the strike fails, and we tinker with the law because we know it is easier to amend or pass a new law than to abolish the old. We ardently hope for that golden era which will give us six hours per day, but meantime we will strike for eight; we pray for the day when children need not work in factories, but meantime we will enact laws to keep them out; we would invite the population of the world to our shores, but just at present we will bar the sweater and the padrone; we will follow principle at great personal loss, but when that loss is vital, we will adopt expedient, well knowing that expediency oftentimes saves the principle itself.

We know there can be no permanent relief, while absolute necessities are monopolized, while we cannot exchange our limited production without paying costly tribute for the exchange medium, while judges make laws and politicians corrupt and despoil, while our fellow workers allow themselves to be used as tools to defeat their brothers, to be led like sheep to the slaughter. All this we know, and more. We know the teachings of history, that the march of reform against ignorance, apathy and wrong, is not only slow, but doubtful, often ending in revolution. Knowing this, we are willing to be classed as pure, but perhaps not so simple as we appear, and we naturally hesitate to turn our union halls into wardrooms. You cannot vote a label onto a cigar-box, adjust a scale of prices to a type-setting machine by state arbitration, or turn down a tyrannical taskmaster by statute. But all this we have done, can and will do again by our old-fashioned, weather-beaten tried and true trade union. The time may come when we can rely on other forces, but the youngest inhabitant will not live to see it. One or the other of the old political parties can roll up ballot majorities of tens of thousands almost where they will, and what do they offer us? When this great power shows signs of weakening, and it becomes possible to divide and conquer, then the trade union might be asked to pay less attention to striking and more to balloting, but not now.

There is much said today of the rapid march of invention, of the inroads that are being made into our handicrafts and the consequent reduction of opportunities of employment, and the question very naturally arises, what are we to do with the machine. There are those who affect to treat lightly the money problem, the rent problem, and other evils fostered by the government; who say it is the machine that must be controlled; or, all three of these are grouped under the term "capital," and relief is not possible, it is said, until complete monopoly is instituted by the state. Such a view is quite natural, under the circumstances, when the actual causes are hidden from view by custom, prejudice, and law; but to say that this is the only way out is open to question, aside from the consideration of practicability. The later-day machine is an important factor in production without doubt, but it is not an absolute necessity. It is sad to relate, from the standpoint of social progress, that if all the type-setting machines that were ever made were discarded tomorrow, it would be a blessing instead of an injury to the community. I believe one can safely say that every machine that is protected by patent is evil to the interests of society at large, while every one that is not is an aid. The printer is hemmed in by patents on all sides; patents on type-setting machines, printing presses, telegraph, telephone, typewriters, news companies and delivery privileges, etc., and when he is thrown out of employment by their influences he finds the gifts of nature, the earth, the forests, its mines and minerals patented, closed against him, and his only outlet the common highway. Patents are the sinews of monopoly. Remove these restrictions and the workmen will succeed and prosper where we now find failure and destitution. To say that the state must own the machine, in order that the producer will not be unjustly dealt with, is equivalent to saying that the more the individual produces, and consequently the easier it is for him to meet the struggle for life, the greater is his need of protection. The stronger a man becomes the greater is his danger, which is absurd on its face. With an abolition of legal monopoly the increased product of all would accrue equitably to the benefit of all, according to effort, not, as at present, be derived by a few to the disadvantage of the mass. If any particular branch of labor is lightened by machinery, the product is correspondingly cheapened, and it requires less of other products to exchange, which means a reduction in the hours of labor of all concerned as well as greater consumption and increased comfort. Under free conditions the machine labor could not demand more than its effort, because other labor would supplant it, and thus would value exchange at cost with profit to all. This economic and just law cannot operate today because of statute law. It is with evils of this kind that the trade unions battle. It is in this wise that we are deprived of a natural and gradual reduction in the hours of labor and a constantly rising wage, in proportion to our own increasing abilities. It is for this reason we are compelled to resort to the barbaric weapons of the strike and the boycott; to harmonize or artificially adapt our powers and wants to the restriction of opportunity. And the trade union, while it thus struggles with the present, not only should, but must discover the cause of its dilemma, must educate, never ceasing, in our meetings, in our press, in our clubs, our workshops and our homes. Educate ourselves that we may educate others, that great restriction and invasion may be stopped in a thousand places so that we may discard it in a few. And in this work we justly ask the co-operation of all good citizens. Our interests are their interests. Society as a whole cannot prosper while a great section of it is discontented and abused. And it is not the workman alone that suffers. We are not the only class that, with limited resources, cannot make both ends meet. The blight of restriction and monopoly falls as well upon the men of business and profession, but very few of them, we are sorry to say, devote as much, or near it, as does the workman to throw off the burden. Yes, we may well feel proud of our position, and we say to our fellow sufferers in other pursuits, that, if they will not join with us, they at least refrain from criticism. The man who never does anything has no right to criticise the occasional mistakes of him who tries. As a general rule, unions of business men are formed, among other things, to fight the unions of trades, instead of turning attention to the common enemy.

We are assembled here for a plain purpose, the betterment of our members and their families, their social and industrial interests, as well as the advancement of society and righteousness in general. And we will address ourselves to the all important subject as we have always done, in plain words. There will be no cant or hypocrisy in this gathering to gain public support at the expense of truth and principle. We will speak our thoughts as they come, free from the baneful influences of our daily industrial surroundings. There will be no toadying to newspapers, state or church. We have gone past the days of our infancy and explanation. We opine, criticise, applaud or denounce in words of confidence, born of knowledge based on fact. We need no theory, no imagination, no scholar, no doctrinaire, to tell us how we live, where we live; that we are often unemployed and when employed fraudulently and by force, under cover of statute law and otherwise defrauded of our earnings. We need no statisticians nor commissions to tell us that affluence and waste at the top rest upon a base of poverty and misery below, regardless of studied and interesting efforts at veneration. Fine words and fine feathers may be good to look at, but they cannot change law. All the tales of prosperity that were ever written, all the prayerful offerings of bell and cap, all the songs of glory that were ever sung and all the patriotism that was ever canted, all the good that was ever prostituted for an ignoble, dollar-getting purpose, cannot convince or appease one hungry stomach. What a sight it is to see the heroism, the nobility, the greatness of the men who fought and died for freedom in America and elsewhere, made use of by enemies of freedom to gain security to exploit their neighbors. The two elements are as divergent in act and feeling as they are distant in time, as white is to black.

We cannot be too severe on those who attempt to deceive the people by such methods, who preach law and order for revenue only and while they violate, whose chief desire is to create a binding chain of reference, awe and superstition for institutions and things as they are, under cover of name of loyalty, so that workmen will not only chain themselves, but prevent others from interfering.

In closing I would add: We assemble here from almost all sections of the country, meeting today, parting tomorrow, many of us never see each other again. In discussing the many matters that will come before us, let us at all times respect each other's intentions, no matter how wide the divergence; and when in the heat of debate our feelings would master us, let us recall the importance, the sanctity of the great cause in which we labor as brothers, with mutual aspirations and equal purity of motive, no matter what our method and ideas. Let us remember that we are engaged in humanity's battle, for truth and right, that equity may prevail between man and man. Let us practice what we preach right here, ever mindful of the rights of our fellows, so that our actions will be an example and an encouragement to the thousands who are with us in spirit if not in person, and who are eagerly watching and hoping for the best and success of our deliberations during this Convention.

Respectfully submitted,

AUG. McCRAITH, Secretary of the A. F. of L.

Delegate Garland moved that the report of the Secretary be referred to the proper committee. Carried.

The Chair mentioned that John Swinton and

Father Ducey were present. It was voted that they be accorded a seat on the platform, and Delegates Gompers and Kenchan escorted them forward.

#### TREASURER'S REPORT.

New York, November 1, 1895.

Brothers—At the close of another year as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, I have the honor of submitting to you my report. I trust that my performance of the duties of the office may meet your approval, and I most sincerely desire that the work of the Fifteenth Convention may be more beneficial to the cause of trade unionism than has been any previous session. I believe more firmly than ever that the trade unions must solve the labor question in all its phases, and should receive at our hands a more devoted and untiring support than we have ever given.

While the financial standing of the A. F. of L. for the year has not been quite equal to previous years, the cause thereof is so manifestly the great industrial panic, from which we are just beginning to emerge, that I believe we can congratulate ourselves on being able to make as good a showing as the figures following indicate.

INCOME.		EXPENSES.	
1894.		1894.	
Nov. 1, Bal. in hands of Treasurer.	\$ 5,191 79	Nov. 30, Paid Warrants 250-283....	\$ 1,024 71
Nov. 30, Rec'd of Sec. Chris Evans.	2,275 61	Dec. 31, Paid Warrants 284-338....	2,739 10
Dec. 31, Rec'd of Sec. Chris Evans.	1,810 42	1895.	
1895.		Jan. 31, Paid Warrants 339-419....	3,174 80
Jan. 31, Rec'd of Sec. A. McCraith.	838 06	Feb. 18, Paid Warrant *451 ....	1,000 00
Feb. 28, Rec'd of Sec. A. McCraith.	478 60	Feb. 28, Paid Warrants 420-450....	1,342 42
Mar. 31, Rec'd of Sec. A. McCraith.	1,089 78	Mar. 31, Paid Warrants 452-483....	973 44
Apr. 30, Rec'd of Sec. A. McCraith.	1,156 26	Apr. 30, Paid Warrants 484-513....	842 58
May 31, Rec'd of Sec. A. McCraith.	1,096 12	May 31, Paid Warrants 514-543....	809 20
June 30, Rec'd of Sec. A. McCraith.	828 85	June 30, Paid Warrants 545-569....	797 41
July 31, Rec'd of Sec. A. McCraith.	850 87	July 31, Paid Warrants 570-592....	631 80
Aug. 31, Rec'd of Sec. A. McCraith.	821 95	Aug. 31, Paid Warrants 593-618....	1,338 98
Sept. 30, Rec'd of Sec. A. McCraith.	1,170 17	Sept. 30, Paid Warrants 619-643....	790 54
Oct. 31, Rec'd of Sec. A. McCraith.	2,335 06	Oct. 31, Paid Warrants 644-673....	1,147 44
Total income.....	\$18,943 54	Total expenses.....	\$16,612 42
Total income.....\$18,943 54		Total expenses.....\$16,612 42	
Nov. 1, Bal. in hands of Treasurer..\$ 2,331 12			

\*Warrant 451 of \$1,000, entered in above report, Feb. 18, was by order of the Executive Council turned over to Secretary McCraith, to pay current expenses, and remains an asset of the A. F. of L.

Nov. 1, Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$2,331 12
Nov. 1, Balance in hands of Secretary.....	1,000 00
Total balance.....	\$3,331 12

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN B. LENNON, Treasurer.

Referred to proper committee.

John Swinton was then introduced and spoke at length on the matters affecting labor, giving a synopsis of the work done by trade unions both in America and England during the past half century. He hoped the time would come when the present industrial chaos would be supplanted by the American commonwealth. The greatest accomplishment of labor during the past was the fact of organization in spite of very unfair conditions and treatment. The co-operation of every workman was now needed to meet the enemy without flinching, marching to the music of union.

The danger is unprecedented. Organization must be advanced and maintained. There was far less need of it 50 years ago; when he was a boy there was employment for every industrious American. Fifty years ago land was free, and there were 160 acres available for the unsuited, offering him a choice. Social and industrial conditions had changed. Another accomplishment of organized labor was that of the right to strike against wrong. The action of President Cleveland in sending

federal troops to Chicago to browbeat strikers was unspeakable. Our militia also had become the infamous tool of monopoly, and was now industriously engaged in destroying what was left of our bogus republic. We had earned the right to strike at our own peril, which was something, and the strangest thing of all was that no amount of preaching—notwithstanding that tons of argument against strikes had been written, we did not seem to stop it, and strikes go on unceasingly. There were more last year than any previous year since 1887. The strike was a weapon by which many points had been gained and society bettered. To establish the inalienable right to strike, to strike when struck, is advancement. Organization and strikes had increased wages, reduced hours, sent the child to school, improved factory conditions and created sanitary laws. If there were no trade union capital would ride unbridled. More light to its head; more power to its arm; more energy to its movement. Times had changed. Can we meet the change? How is the trade union to deal with the arrogance of corporation and wealth, the railway trust,



the oil trust, the sugar trust, the militia, and all such evil institutions? What shall be the methods employed? What is to be the doom of labor at the dawn of the twentieth century?

He would sound the alarm. It is for us to consider the impending danger, and if other means and methods are required hasten to embrace them. We had all the power needed to assert our rights.

The address was well received.

Father Ducey then addressed the Convention at considerable length, and was frequently interrupted by outbursts of applause. What Mr. Swinton said was perfectly true. He who dares to speak on the right side, was denounced as a socialist, an anarchist; he who speaks on the wrong side is a petted child of society. Yet he was glad to say there are many cultivated minds who think and feel with the workers. "The poor ye always have with you," was the maxim of society, while fortunes were built with the blood money of the poor. There is enough to feed all, to permit the individual to feel his manhood, and not depend upon almsgiving from any source. Man needs food, shelter, clothing, and Almighty God never intended that he should be without it. The economic question was one of mercy, and we

should gather into the fold all possible forces. The country would be served by such a unification.

When Cardinal Gibbons succeeded in sending out to the world his statement regarding membership in the Knights of Labor, what use was made of it. The setting of the working people against each other. We are told that the people are priest ridden; but when such practices as the foregoing are instituted, the church, it is said, by the same people, is a great moral force. He wished there were more in the English speaking Catholic world like the deceased Cardinal Manning.

Delegate Garland moved that a rising vote of thanks be tendered to John Swinton and Father Ducey for the able and sympathetic addresses which they had delivered.

Carried.

Delegate Gompers mentioned the mass meeting in Cooper Union and gave a list of the speakers billed for the occasion.

Delegate Kenehan moved that Mr. Swinton's address be printed in the *American Federationist*.

Moved to adjourn to 9:00 o'clock the following morning; amended and carried to meet at 9:30. Adjourned at 5:15 P. M.

## SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

Tuesday, December 10, 1895.

Convention called to order at 9:45.

Delegate Lennon moved that the Sergeant-at-arms be instructed to see the proprietor of the hall and secure proper heating.

Sergeant-at-arms reported that the matter would be attended to.

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Rules, beg leave to submit for your consideration the following rules to govern this Convention:

Rule 1. This Convention shall be called to order at 9 A. M., adjourn at 12:30 P. M., to reassemble at 2 P. M., and to continue in session until 5 o'clock P. M.

Rule 2. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the Chair. While speaking he shall confine himself to the question.

Rule 3. Should two or more members rise to speak at the same time the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless it be to call him to order.

Rule 5. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than once upon the same subject or question, until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so, nor more than twice without permission from the house, nor any longer than five minutes at one time without permission.

Rule 7. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the chair and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

Rule 8. When a question is before the house, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein named.

Rule 9. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

Rule 10. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall require a majority vote.

Rule 11. Any delegate who may not be present to answer his name at roll call shall be

marked absent by the Secretary. But in the event of being unavoidably absent shall have the privilege of reporting to the Secretary.

Rule 12. The previous question can only be put when called for by at least ten delegates.

Rule 13. All questions not herein provided for shall be decided according to Cushing's Manual.

Rule 14. That before a resolution is received by the Chair and sent to the Committee on Resolutions it shall bear the signature of the delegate introducing it, with the title of his union.

Rule 15. No motion or resolution shall be finally passed without opportunity to speak is afforded the person making or introducing the same.

Rule 16. That no resolution be received after Thursday's session without unanimous consent.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Roll call of officers and delegates.
2. Reading minutes of previous session.
3. Report of Committee on Credentials.
4. Reports of Officers.
5. Reports or regular committees.
6. Reports of special committees.
7. Unfinished business.
8. New business.
9. Election and installation of Officers.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

All of which is respectfully submitted.  
 WM. HIGGINS, Chairman.  
 N. J. SVINDETH,  
 FRANK W. LEE,  
 JAS. O'CONNELL, Sec'y

Delegate Klapetsky moved to amend the time limit on presenting resolutions by striking out Thursday and inserting Friday. Seconded by Delegate Mahon.

Opposed by Delegates O'Connell, Kenehan and Duncan. Lost.

Delegate Braunschweiger moved to strike out the word "unanimous," on the acceptance of resolutions after Thursday. No action taken.

Delegate Barnes moved to strike out the word "five" in Rule 6, and insert "ten."

Delegate Lennon moved to insert 9:30 instead of 9 for hour of meeting, and 5:30 instead of 5 for hour of closing. Carried.

Delegate Barnes renewed his motion on time limit of speaking. Opposed by Delegate Linehan. Lost.

Delegate Junio moved to amend that no person not a member of the Convention be permitted to address it except by unanimous consent. No action taken.

Delegate Linehan moved that the report of the committee be adopted entire as amended. Carried.

The Credential Committee reported as follows:

To the Officers and Members:  
 Your committee desires to report on the Brass and Composition Metal Workers the fol-

lowing: We recommend the seating of E. J. Lynch of the above association and recommend that the incoming Executive Board use their best endeavors to bring about harmony among the members of the organizations of this craft.

Your committee, in regard to the protest raised by J. W. McKinney against the seating of J. H. Sullivan, of Painters and Decorators of America, respectfully report that owing to the Executive Board having acted upon the matter and decided against the organization represented by J. W. McKinney, we therefore recommend the seating of J. H. Sullivan.

We have also examined the credentials of W. C. Hollister, of Federal Labor Union 6257, of Chicago, and recommend that he be seated.

Your committee having considered the protest against the credentials of the National Brewery Workmen, are of the opinion that the said protest is frivolous and recommend that the delegates be seated.

We have examined the credentials of J. Widdowfield, M. J. Keough and J. F. Valentine, representing the Iron Moulders' Union of North America, with 120 votes, and recommend that they be seated.

T. J. ELDERKIN,  
 T. F. TRACEY,  
 D. P. ROWLAND,  
 WILLIAM MAILLY,  
 JOHN WHITE.

Delegate Linehan moved that the report of the Committee on Credentials on Painters and Brewers Unions be laid over until the report of the Executive Council be made.

The President suggested that we receive report of the Executive Council.

#### REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

To the Members of the Fifteenth Annual Convention:

Fellow Workers—Your Executive Council would report as follows on the most important items that have commanded its attention:

Among the many matters referred by the Denver Convention were: The disagreement existing in the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators' Union, and in the Brewers' National Union.

The Painters' Union had two national heads—one located in Baltimore, Md., and another in Lafayette, Ind. The split originated in their convention in Buffalo. To heal the breach, a second convention was called in Cleveland, Ohio, and the proceedings of the former convention were there declared null and void. The great majority of the painters abided by the action of the Cleveland convention; a minority refused, and persisted in supporting the rival headquarters at Lafayette.

The Executive Council sought to bring both parties together, and failing in this, was compelled to render a decision as to which should be recognized by organized labor. It decided in harmony with the action of the Cleveland convention, and we are pleased to say the decision has been accepted by the great majority of painters and affiliated bodies without question. According to last reports, the breach was rapidly closing up, and we have reason to believe that ere long the painters will again be gathered under one common head, presenting a united front to the common enemy.

The United Brewery Workmen, affiliated with the A. F. of L., is also affiliated with the Knights of Labor, and is known in the latter as National Trades Assembly No. 35. One of its locals, No. 18, of Chicago, had refused to pay assessments, claiming the sum collected would be used to hold up the Knights of Labor, to which they were unalterably opposed. At the Denver Convention we were called upon to discipline No. 18, and compel the Chicago Trades Assembly to expel them from their midst, or stand suspended from the A. F. of L. At the April meeting of the council in Indianapolis, representatives of both sides were heard. It was also shown at that time that the national union had attempted to coerce the two local unions in Boston into joining the K. of L. The council voted that while the assessment on Local 18, of Chicago, was regularly levied, it would refuse to support the national union in this instance, unless it withdrew from the K. of L. The council was also asked by the United Brewery Workmen to place a boycott upon 16 out of 17 breweries in Allegheny Co., Pa. The council did not believe the facts presented warranted such action, and also believed that the feat was an impossibility, and as the K. of L. was also involved in the issue, refused to endorse the boycott. To this the national union demurred, and attacked the council in its boycotting publications. Thereupon the United Labor League of Western Pennsylvania, one of the largest and strongest central bodies in the country, was asked to investigate and pass upon the matter, the breweries being located in its jurisdiction. This organization subsequently reported there was not a single scab brewery in Allegheny county.

A protest was also entered at the Denver Convention against the legality of the Belleville convention of the Illinois State Branch, and documents were presented purporting to show that said convention was composed of bogus delegates. This matter was also referred to the Executive Council, which gave a hearing to the President and Secretary of the Illinois State Branch in rebuttal. After mature deliberation, it was found there was no foundation for the charges, and the case was dismissed.

Complaint was made by a local union of Tin, Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers in New York City, that the Tin, Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers' national union had chartered a union of "scabs" in said city. The matter was referred by the Convention to your Executive Council, who found that the statement as made was true, and so notified the national union, who refused to take cognizance of the situation, claiming that they were not sufficiently heard in the matter. The case was again discussed in Indianapolis, the executive board of the T. S. I. & C. W. being present. An investigation was subsequently made by the T. S. I. & C. W.'s, and a decision rendered, that the offending local, No. 102, must expel four of its members, which was done.

The dispute between the two central bodies of Louisville, Ky., was also referred by the Convention, and we are pleased to say was amicably adjusted, both bodies merging into one.

The resolutions adopted by the Denver Convention on the subject of national bond issues, the refunding of the debt of the Union and Central Pacific roads, the removal of the Columbia river fish traps, on the remonetiza-

tion of silver, the Phillips bill, the regulation of railway rates, land monopoly, compulsory arbitration, the Baltimore plan of a medium of exchange, on contract immigration, contract labor on public works, on the Jefferson Borden mutineers, and other matters have all been forwarded to the proper parties in the National Congress and elsewhere.

During the year your Executive Council has been called upon to interfere in matters in dispute between unions and proprietors on many occasions, and its efforts have met with considerable success in some cases, and failing in others, as might be expected.

We are pleased to report that the long-standing difficulty between the International Typographical Union and the firm of Rand, McNally & Co., of Chicago, has been settled to the satisfaction of all parties. Another disagreement of the same kind between the same union and the Werner Printing Company, of Akron, Ohio, and which struggle embraced no less than the entire country as well as parts of Europe, has happily reached a satisfactory end. Both firms employ henceforth none but union printers. The Typographical union has also won a number of smaller boycotts.

The Denver Convention recommended a boycott on the Armour Packing Company, of Kansas City, at the solicitation of Beef Boners Union No. 6151, but the boycott when once declared was speedily lifted and all parties concerned satisfied.

Another struggle lasting nearly three years was that of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union against the Crawford Shoe Company, which at last was brought to a successful termination in a victory for this organization.

The Glendale Fabric Company has also been unionized and the boycott lifted.

The Chicago Convention placed a boycott on the Denver Taber Opera House. The matter has been settled, after active work on the part of the unions of that city, and the boycott lifted.

The Western Wheel Bicycle Co. reached satisfactory conclusions with the Metal Polishers' National Union and the boycott was removed.

The boycott levied by Flour Packers and Nailers Union No. 6348 on the Washburn-Crosby Co's flour, Minneapolis, was also removed.

The Swift Packing Co. of Kansas City, Kan., incurred the ill will of organized labor, a boycott was levied, vigorously pushed and victory speedily achieved.

A number of lesser battles have been fought and won without any special notoriety by our local unions in many cities.

At the solicitation of the Garment Workers National Union a boycott has recently been declared against the clothiers of Rochester, N. Y.

You will learn the particulars of this great struggle from the members of this organization in the course of your proceedings, and we bespeak for them a hearty and active support now and in the days to come.

Other concerns that have earned the displeasure of organized labor are: The Royal Mantel and Furniture Co. of Rockport, Ill.; the Imperial Mill Co., Duluth, Minn.; W. S. Kidder & Son Milling Co., Terre Haute, Ind.; Jos. Biefield and Siegel and Bros., Chicago;

J. W. Lose Tailoring Co., St. Louis; American Biscuit Co., Boston Pilot and Republic; Hopedale Manufacturing Co., A. F. Smith Shoe Co., Lynn, Mass., United States Baking Co.; Hamilton-Brown Shoe Co., St. Louis; Daube, Cohen & Co., Chicago; Mesker Bros. St. Louis; Clement, Bane & Co., Chicago; Hackett, Carhart & Co., New York; Buffalo Barrels, Louisville, Ky.; Derby Bicycle Co., State Prison, Jackson, Mich.

In accordance with instructions of the Denver convention strong efforts have been put forth to unionize the Arena Publishing Co. of Boston. Correspondence was had with the concern, couched in the most friendly manner. Failing in this, the matter was again considered by your executive council at its April meeting. It was then decided that a member of the council while passing through that city should visit the concern in person, failing in this a boycott to be declared. The concern was so visited and promises were given which promoted a reasonable hope of settlement. Time passed, however, the delays of correspondence were patiently endured, the matter still remains unsettled, and we feel at last compelled to declare the Arena Publishing Co. unfair.

The Tobacco Workers national union, the Carriage Workers national union and the Collar, Cuff and Shirt Workers of Troy issued labels during the year and received the endorsement of the council.

In the course of the year, as you all know, serious charges were preferred against our President in connection with the A.R.U. strike. The matter was thoroughly considered by your Council at its April meeting and one of our members was deputized to repair to Columbus, O., and in conjunction with the central body of that city make a complete investigation. Subsequently said member reported as follows, which was adopted by the council:

New York, Dec. 9, 1895.

As per instructions of the Executive Council, I visited Columbus, O., and made investigation of the charges preferred by Mark Wild against John McBride, President of the A. F. of L. We had two all day sessions, May 8-9, 1895, of the committee of the Trades Assembly of Columbus, O., to whom the charges had been referred. The committee had several sessions prior to my visit, and since then. But at no time did Mark Wild appear before the committee to substantiate his charges. Nor was there any evidence offered of a definite and conclusive character to show that John McBride had betrayed the interest of organized labor or been guilty of corrupt practices, as alleged by Mark Wild and others.

P. J. MCGUIRE.

The Brotherhood of Brass Workers, the Metal Polishers international union and the United Brass Workers (formerly K. of L.) met in Detroit, July 4, 1895, for purpose of amalgamation. The project failed, but the Brotherhood of Brass Workers (then chartered by the A. F. of L.) and the United Brass Workers merged into one body. The latter was also composed of metal workers. The Brotherhood then asked that its charter name be changed to "Brass and Composition Metal Workers, Polishers and Buffers." To this the Metal Polishers international union objected, claiming that they should have complete jurisdiction over metal workers. Your executive council endeavored to bring both parties to-

gether, but failed, and deeming it inadvisable to keep the organization outside our fold, especially as N. A. 252 had left the K. of L. with the understanding that they would be welcomed by us, it was decided to allow the change in the name of the charter.

Efforts have been made to secure a pardon for Messrs. Dempsey and Beatty, imprisoned Homestead men. The board of pardons of Pennsylvania has not yet reported, but we have every reason to believe the result will be favorable. The families of these men are in destitute circumstances. Members of our organization have done what they could to aid them. We believe that something should be done for them by this convention. The situation is urgent. We therefore recommend that \$20 per month for six months be donated to each family, the first payment to be made for the current month.

The Trades and Labor Assembly of St. Louis asked that the charter of the Musicians' Mutual Benefit Association No. 5579 be revoked, this organization having refused to strike to support the Theatrical Stages Employees. The musicians claimed they had signed contracts which could not be broken. Your Executive Council has rendered the following decision:

WHEREAS, While it is a fundamental principle of unionism that one organization should support another to the utmost extent of its ability, the A. F. of L. has always acknowledged self-government on the part of affiliated bodies; therefore

RESOLVED, That no central body or state federation affiliated with the A. F. of L. shall have the right to expel or suspend the delegates of any local or national union for refusing to violate a contract existing with their employers.

RESOLVED, That in the trouble between the St. Louis central body and the Musicians, we refuse to withdraw the Musicians' charter, because the constitutional autonomy accorded affiliated bodies prohibits them from interfering with *bona fide* contracts of local unions.

Through a combination of unfortunate circumstances, no provision was made by the trade unions of Washington, D. C., for the advent of John Burns into that city last year, and the full burden fell upon the local Printers Union who subsequently applied to us for relief. After thoroughly investigating the matter, we would recommend that one half the expenses be paid, close on to \$100.

A number of other minor matters were attended to by your council, which it is not necessary to recite.

The council has deemed it advisable to prevent dual representation, to pass the following amendment to the constitution: "That no certificate of affiliation be granted to federal labor unions to be in whole, or in part, composed of members of existing trade unions." In order that this might not interfere with organizations for educational purposes, the Social Reform Club charter, as recommended at last convention, is offered to those who wish to so organize in lieu of a federal labor union charter. No action was taken by the council regarding federal labor unions of the kind referred to already in existence.

As you know, the members of the council are widely separated, ranging from Phila-

delphia to Denver, and traveling and other details make our meetings somewhat expensive, so that we have not met as often as we should have desired, but we have been in constant communication at all times. A preliminary meeting of some of our members was held in Denver at the close of the convention; another was held in New York in January and another in Indianapolis in April. Our total expenses amounted to \$378.25.

Our actions have been reported in detail in the columns of the *American Federationist*. We have endeavored to deal with all matters coming before us fairly, impartially and to the best of our ability, and we trust our stewardship will receive the endorsement of this Convention. The year has been a hard one generally, but the future is promising, and we trust that whoever our successors may be that they will be able to reap a better harvest to the greater benefit and credit of our grand organization.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN McBRIDE,  
P. J. McGUIRE,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
ROADY KENEHAN,  
THOS. J. ELDERKIN,  
JOHN B. LENNON,  
AUG. McCRAITH.

Moved that action be deferred until the report was printed and in possession of delegates.

Delegate Diehl made corrections in yesterday's printed proceedings, adding his name to committee on president's report and correcting errors in name of his organization.

The President suggested that all corrections be passed to the Secretary.

Some discussion ensued on the condition of the hall and Delegate Gompers reported that heat would be supplied.

The following resolutions were then introduced:

No. 1. By Delegate John B. Lennon, Secretary of the Journeymen Tailors Union of America:

Amend Section 3, Article XIII, to read: The certificate fee for affiliating bodies shall be, for charter or certificate of affiliation, \$5, an initiation fee of ten cents per member for each member in good standing at time of affiliation, payable to the Secretary of the Federation and which shall accompany the application.

Referred to Committee on law.

No. 2. By the executive board of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees National Alliance:

No union shall be recognized as a *bona fide* union which is not affiliated with the national or international body of its trade, if there be one, or with the A. F. of L. direct.

No union affiliated with the A. F. of L. shall be permitted to affiliate with any central labor body in which non-affiliated unions as described above are represented.

No. 3. By the Bakers and Confectioners International Union:

Amend Section 5, Article V, to read as follows: The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices for the transaction of the business of the organization at Chicago, Ill.

No. 4. By the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen:

WHEREAS, 1st, The Brewers Association of Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, has for years past endeavored to disrupt Brewery Workers Union No. 22, of the same county and state aforesaid (affiliated with the A. F. of L.) as is evidenced by the encouragement, assistance and advantages accorded to a notorious scab who sued ten members of Union No. 22, in September, 1892, for alleged conspiracy, which consisted in upholding and enforcing the wage contract and rules for working, existing between said Union No. 22 and said Brewers Association, causing the arrest of said members and costing the union over \$500.

WHEREAS, 2d, The said Brewers' Association, in collusion with Engineers' Assembly, No. 92, K. of L., organized December 28, 1893, combined to destroy Union No. 22, by entering into a scab contract January 1, 1894, for four full months before the expiration of the yearly wage contract, then existing between said Union No. 22 and said Brewers' Association.

WHEREAS, 3d, The said Brewers' Association demanded of the members of Union No. 22, that they separate from the A. F. of L. and join said Engineers' Assembly No. 92 (since suspended for treacherous collusion with the bosses for the purpose of disrupting a labor organization, by the executive board of the A. F. of L.) said demand being insisted upon under threat of discharge; and

WHEREAS, 4th, Said Brewers' Association from May 1, 1894, till August 26, 1894, has discharged thirty-two members of Union No. 22, for the sole reason for refusing to leave the A. F. of L., and identify themselves with the Boss Brewers, K. of L., catspaw Assembly, No. 92; and,

WHEREAS, 5th, Said discharged thirty-two unions members are still locked out and will certainly not be re-employed in any of the breweries controlled by the said Brewers' Association of Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, until these disruptors are enjoined and forced to right the wrong done Union No. 22, by the combined efforts and unified power of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it,

RESOLVED, By this convention of the A. F. of L. that all the breweries controlled by the Brewers' Association of Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, from which members of the A. F. of L. are locked out, be hereby placed upon the boycott list until the grievance of Union No. 22—which is hereby made and declared to be the grievance of the entire Federation of Labor—has been satisfactorily adjusted.

RESOLVED, FURTHER, That the Executive Board of the A. F. of L. shall issue a circular, at the earliest possible date, setting forth the facts leading to and justifying this action; and that this boycott shall not be lifted by Union No. 22, except with the consent and approval of the Executive Board of the A. F. of L.

Referred to committee on Grievances.

No. 5. By Samuel Gompers, Delegate of Cigar Makers' International Union of America:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and they are hereby directed to secure the passage of a law by congress; or an "order" from the executive departments for the publication of government contractors and the particulars of the contracts in the *Labor Bulletin* of the United States.

No. 6:

WHEREAS, We are fully cognizant that the general introduction of machinery, the division and subdivision of labor has largely quickened the methods of the production of wealth; that the productivity of the toilers has been and is daily accelerated, and that in consequence thereof the work of the employed has become more burdensome and enervating; and for the purpose of securing more leisure and opportunity for the over-worked and remunerative employment for the workless worker, we, the delegates of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, on economic, social, politic, hygienic and moral grounds demand that the hours of labor of America's workers shall be reduced to, at most, eight per day; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and they are hereby directed, immediately upon the adjournment of this convention, to issue an address to the wage-workers of the country, urging them to join the unions of their respective trades or callings wherever such unions exist, and to form unions where there are none such now; with the view of securing for them all possible advantages accruing from organization; and especially to put into operation the eight-hour work day.

RESOLVED, That the President notify the executive officers of the national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., that this convention has authorized the Executive Council to select one or more trades to make the demand, and, if necessary, to enter into the struggle to attain the eight-hour work-day; and to ascertain which trade or trades desires to be selected.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council shall issue and mail a circular letter to employers of labor with the view of securing from them the voluntary concession of the eight-hour work-day to their employes.

RESOLVED, That all unions whose members now work more than eight hours be requested to select committees to wait upon their employers with the same object in view.

RESOLVED, That the press, pulpit, public speakers and reformers generally be asked to make the necessity for the eight-hour work-day a theme of their discussion; and that the subject may be discussed by them as near simultaneously as possible.

RESOLVED, That the wage workers be called upon to hold public meetings in their respective localities on Washington's Birthday (Feb. 22) for the ratification of, and in sympathy with, the demand of the eight-hour day; and that on May 1, 1896, general demonstrations and public meetings be held throughout the country with the same purpose in view.

RESOLVED, That this convention levies an assessment of two cents per week for five consecutive weeks, commencing March 1, 1896, upon all affiliated organizations, for each member in good standing in such organization. The

fund so raised to be subject to the call of the executive council, to be utilized exclusively in aid of those who may be selected, and if necessary, enter into a dispute to secure the eight-hour day.

RESOLVED, That on or about the 15th day of March 1896, the executive council shall select, from among those organizations which have manifested their desire to be so selected, one or more trades to demand the establishment of the eight-hour day for their respective trade or trades.

RESOLVED, That the executive council are instructed to aid, to the utmost of their power, morally and financially, to the end that the letter and spirit of these resolutions may be carried out, and that the eight-hour day may become generally in vogue among the workers of our land.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 7.

RESOLVED, That this convention regards the system of capital punishment as barbarous and degrading, and we are of the opinion that this revolting practice should be abolished by Congress and the legislature of the several States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 8. By the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, Wis.:

WHEREAS, The growing power of capitalism is threatening the American people with slavery, and,

WHEREAS, The only salvation remaining lies in the unanimity and solidarity of action of the working people of America, and

WHEREAS, The two great bodies of organized labor in our country, i. e., the A. F. of L. and the K. of L. are constantly at war with each other to the detriment of the labor movement in general, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, hereby instruct our delegate to the next annual convention to use all honorable means to bring about a close alliance, and if possible, a unification of the above named bodies of organized labor of America.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 9. By Robert Howard: That an effort be made to organize the textile industries of the South by placing organizers in that locality. cality.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 10. By Delegate Kenehan: On shorter hours for the Horseshoers and upon legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

No. 11: By Delegate O'Connell: On dual organizations.

Referred to Committee on Law.

The President said that Mrs. Eva McDonald Valesh, an active worker in our movement, was present, and he would introduce her to the Convention.

Mrs. Valesh addressed the Convention at some length on the merits of the trade union,

which was the instrument of industrial evolution and an absolute necessity. She was about to visit Europe, and would investigate the condition of labor there and its unions, and would be pleased to report to us at a later date.

Delegate McBryde offered the following:

That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the mission of Mrs. Valesh, and heartily recommend her to the trades unionists of Europe, requesting them to render her all the assistance in their power.  
Adopted.

Delegate Lennon moved that the Secretary be authorized to make arrangements with Mrs. Valesh, to furnish articles for the *Federationist*, and that she be compensated in a proper manner.

Adopted.

No. 12. By Delegate Barter: On boycotting the cigar companies of Detroit.

Referred to Committee on Boycott.

No. 13. By Delegate Ashe: That no central body shall deny admission to local unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Delegate Lawrence here tendered the members an invitation to an actors' entertainment and banquet.

Delegate Lennon moved that President appoint a new committee of not less than seven on short hour day, not later than Wednesday, and that George E. McNeil, be authorized to act as advisory member.

Carried.

No. 14. By Delegate Costello: That a national body of laboring men's unions be formed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 15. By the United Garment Workers: That the Charter of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly be revoked and given to the Labor Congress of that city.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 16. By same: That the charter of the

Phoenix Federated Labor Union of Chicago be revoked.

Referred to Committee on Grievance.

No. 17. By same: That the Rochester Clothiers' Exchange be boycotted.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 18. By the New Jersey Federation of Trades and Labor Unions: On promoting harmony among the painters of the country.

Referred to Committee on Grievance.

No. 19. By the Associated Typesetting Machine Engineers of Brooklyn: That their relations with the Machisists' Union and the Typographical Union be considered.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

No. 20. By the Retail Clerks National Association: Asking for support and recognition of their union card.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Weismann asked that delegates of national unions, having labels, assemble on Wednesday, at 8 o'clock, to devise means to further the label.

Telegrams of greeting and fraternity were read from Lee M. Hart, the Retail Clerks National Association and the officers of the A. R. U. of Los Angeles, Cal.

No. 21. By Delegate Braunschweiger: To discontinue the fair list in the *Federationist*.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

No. 22. By Secretary of Hotel and Restaurant Employes: That local unions, unaffiliated with their national bodies, be not recognized by central bodies.

Miss Fairview was here introduced, and spoke eloquently of the trade unions, the initiative and referendum.

No. 23. By E. H. Diehl: On the violation of the short hour day in governmental departments.

Referred to Committee on Short Hours.

Delegate Bramwood moved that we adjourn until 2 o'clock.

Carried.

Adjourned at 11:30.

No. 5. By Samuel Gompers, Delegate of Cigar Makers' International Union of America:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and they are hereby directed to secure the passage of a law by congress; or an "order" from the executive departments for the publication of government contractors and the particulars of the contracts in the *Labor Bulletin* of the United States.

No. 6:

WHEREAS, We are fully cognizant that the general introduction of machinery, the division and subdivision of labor has largely quickened the methods of the production of wealth; that the productivity of the toilers has been and is daily accelerated, and that in consequence thereof the work of the employed has become more burdensome and enervating; and for the purpose of securing more leisure and opportunity for the over-worked and remunerative employment for the workless worker, we, the delegates of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, on economic, social, politic, hygienic and moral grounds demand that the hours of labor of America's workers shall be reduced to, at most, eight per day; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and they are hereby directed, immediately upon the adjournment of this convention, to issue an address to the wage-workers of the country, urging them to join the unions of their respective trades or callings wherever such unions exist, and to form unions where there are none such now; with the view of securing for them all possible advantages accruing from organization; and especially to put into operation the eight-hour work day.

RESOLVED, That the President notify the executive officers of the national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., that this convention has authorized the Executive Council to select one or more trades to make the demand, and, if necessary, to enter into the struggle to attain the eight-hour work-day; and to ascertain which trade or trades desires to be selected.

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RESOLVED, That all unions whose members now work more than eight hours be requested to select committees to wait upon their employers with the same object in view.

RESOLVED, That the press, pulpit, public speakers and reformers generally be asked to make the necessity for the eight-hour work-day a theme of their discussion; and that the subject may be discussed by them as near simultaneously as possible.

RESOLVED, That the wage workers be called upon to hold public meetings in their respective localities on Washington's Birthday (Feb. 22) for the ratification of, and in sympathy with, the demand of the eight-hour day; and that on May 1, 1896, general demonstrations and public meetings be held throughout the country with the same purpose in view.

RESOLVED, That this convention levies an assessment of two cents per week for five consecutive weeks, commencing March 1, 1896, upon all affiliated organizations, for each member in good standing in such organization. The

fund so raised to be subject to the call of the executive council, to be utilized exclusively in aid of those who may be selected, and if necessary, enter into a dispute to secure the eight-hour day.

RESOLVED, That on or about the 15th day of March 1896, the executive council shall select, from among those organizations which have manifested their desire to be so selected, one or more trades to demand the establishment of the eight-hour day for their respective trade or trades.

RESOLVED, That the executive council are instructed to aid, to the utmost of their power, morally and financially, to the end that the letter and spirit of these resolutions may be carried out, and that the eight-hour day may become generally in vogue among the workers of our land.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

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WHEREAS, The growing power of capitalism is threatening the American people with slavery, and,

WHEREAS, The only salvation remaining lies in the unanimity and solidarity of action of the working people of America, and

WHEREAS, The two great bodies of organized labor in our country, *i. e.*, the A. F. of L. and the K. of L. are constantly at war with each other to the detriment of the labor movement in general, therefore be it

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Mrs. Valesh addressed the Convention at some length on the merits of the trade union,



which was the instrument of industrial evolution and an absolute necessity. She was about to visit Europe, and would investigate the condition of labor there and its unions, and would be pleased to report to us at a later date.

Delegate McBryde offered the following:

That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the mission of Mrs. Valesh, and heartily recommend her to the trades unionists of Europe, requesting them to render her all the assistance in their power. Adopted.

Delegate Lennon moved that the Secretary be authorized to make arrangements with Mrs. Valesh, to furnish articles for the *Federationist*, and that she be compensated in a proper manner.

Adopted.

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Referred to Committee on Boycott.

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Carried.

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Miss Fairview was here introduced, and spoke eloquently of the trade unions, the initiative and referendum.

No. 23. By E. H. Diehl: On the violation of the short hour day in governmental departments.

Referred to Committee on Short Hours.

Delegate Bramwood moved that we adjourn until 2 o'clock.

Carried.

Adjourned at 11:30.

## SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order at 2:30.

Resolutions were presented as follows:

No. 24. By Delegate O'Connell: Relating to abusive practices of government officials in navy yards and arsenals upon the workmen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 25. By Delegate Sidener: Protesting against the boycotting of the agents of the Metropolitan and Prudential Insurance Companies.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts and Labels.

No. 26. By Delegate F. A. Kennedy: In favor of free silver.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 27. By Delegate E. H. Diehl: That the two great political parties be requested at their national conventions to define their positions on the eight hour day.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 28. By Delegate Owen Miller: Protest against governmental employes competing in the industrial field with other labor.

No. 29. By Delegate Robt. Mullen: To refrain from patronizing the Musical Mutual Protective Union of New York.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

No. 30. By Delegate Lennon: Reaffirming the trade union position and principle.

The Committee on Resolutions reported favorably upon the following:

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor sanctions a united and concerted effort upon the part of the journeymen horseshoers to demand a shorter workday.

**RESOLVED**, That the Federation will extend all support which the Executive Council may deem necessary to secure the speedy and complete fruition of the effort.

Delegate Lennon thought that this would mean the selection of the horseshoers as the organization to inaugurate the eight hour day, in case we so decided upon the general proposition which had already been submitted; and he moved that the report of the committee be referred to the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Delegate Kenchan said they wanted no financial aid, but simply an endorsement.

The motion to refer was carried.

The same committee reported favorably upon the following, in which the convention concurred:

**WHEREAS**, The members of the Horseshoers National Protective Association and the International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers are actively engaged in different States and Territories of the continent in securing the creation and appointment of authorized boards and commissions, whose duty it will be to examine and pass upon the qualifications of journeymen horseshoers, prior to being engaged and employed in the work of horseshoeing; and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor recognizes the necessity of laws governing the employment of skilled horseshoeing, and regulating the terms of apprenticeship, so that the journeymen horseshoer may possess not only the practical knowledge of the forge, but also the necessary scientific knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of the animal in order to combine the skill of the veterinarian with that of the mechanic; and

**WHEREAS**, The humane societies of different cities and commonwealths in America have in vain endeavored to secure legislation which would restrict and prevent inhuman cruelties occasioned by malpractice in the art of horseshoeing, ever standing ready to assist in securing legislation which would lessen the maiming of horses through the ignorance of incompetents on the floors of the shoers of man's most noble beast, and

**WHEREAS**, Laws for the regulation of horseshoeing and veterinary surgeons have been enacted and are in effect in many of the countries of Europe and in several of the United States, which commend themselves in their successful operation,

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor heartily endorses the action of the International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers in its efforts to secure legislation which will confine the employment of Horseshoers and Veterinary Surgeons to those who possess the skill and necessary experience, and in regulating and directing the course of apprenticeship and education of those intending to pursue the art of horseshoeing,

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor recommends that State Federations and Municipal Trades Assemblies unite with the horseshoers' local union in securing the enactment of the necessary laws to accomplish this desired end.

Approved.

The Auditing Committee reported as follows:

New York, December 9, 1895.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifteenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your committee, to audit the accounts of the Secretary and Treasurer of the A. F. of L. for the twelve months ending November 1, 1895, beg leave to report as follows:

We have examined all books carefully and found the same correct.

Following is an account of the receipts and expenditures:

Receipts during the year.....	\$13,751 75
Balance on hand November 1, 1894.	5,191 79
Total receipts.....	\$18,943 54
Expenses from November 1, 1894, to November 1, 1895.....	15,612 42

Balance on hand November 1,  
1895.....\$ 3,331 12

Of this amount the Treasurer holds \$2,331.12 deposited in German Exchange Bank, and in hands of the Secretary \$1,000.00, deposited in Fletcher's Bank, Indianapolis, Ind.

(Signed.) HENRY WEISMANN,  
W. D. MAHON,  
JOHN C. DERNELL,  
Auditing Committee.

Delegate Pearce (W. C.) moved that the report be accepted and placed on file. Carried.

The Committee on Credentials reported as follows:

We have examined the credentials of B. J. Ryan, from National Alliance Theatrical Stage Employees, and G. A. Parsons, of the Connecticut State Branch, and recommend that they be accepted.

Approved.

The committee further reported:

The Committee on Credentials, having heard the protest of the Iron Moulders' Union of N. A., against the seating of Joseph Farris, representing the Illinois State Federation, and are of the opinion that said protest is in accordance with the law of the A. F. of L., and recommend that the credential be rejected. We are of the opinion that the protest of the Brewery Workers against the credentials of Mr. Farris are on the same general grounds, and recommend the same action.

Delegate Diehl moved that the report be accepted.

Delegate McBryde thought the state branch had a right to elect an honorary member and send him as delegate, and he would move to amend that the report be non-concurred in. Seconded by Delegate Branwood.

Delegates Higgins and Tobin favored the report.

Delegate Branwood withdrew his motion to second.

Delegate Linehan favored seating the delegate on account of the good work he had done for organized labor. If he could pass through the central body, the state branch, and thence to this convention, his personal character must be of a high order.

Delegate Valentine replied that the question was one of law, not sentiment, and by the law the delegate could not be seated.

Delegate O'Connell addressed the Convention in the same vein, and Delegate O'Sullivan said the party in question was not working at his trade, did not possess a union card, and notwithstanding his co-operation and honesty,

we could not seat him, and he hoped the committee's report would be approved.

Delegate Duncan asked if the seconder of the motion withdrew was it still before the Convention.

The Chair announced that when a motion was once made, it was the property of the house.

Delegate McBryde desired to withdraw the motion to non-concur, not that he had changed his views, but that he did not want to be classed as tending in any sense toward leniency of dual organization.

The Chair asked if there was any objection to its withdrawal, and Delegates Garland and O'Sullivan objected to its withdrawal, and they desired the Convention to go on record.

Delegate Duncan hoped we would vote down the question to non-concur and that we would endorse the committee's report.

Delegate Garland said a decision would prevent similar cases in the future.

The vote to non-concur was tendered and defeated.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The same committee then continued as follows:

We have heard the protest of the Brewery Workers' Union against the credentials of W. C. Pomeroy and are of the opinion that the matter referred to the Executive Council at the Denver Convention has not been finally disposed of, and in view of that fact recommend that the delegate be seated.

Delegate McBryde moved to concur.

Delegate Klapetzky said he had new facts in the case. There was an organization of independent barbers in the Trades Assembly of Chicago, which this delegate represented. Said organization was antagonistic to the national body. He would ask leave, therefore, to recommit, so that these facts could be considered.

Delegate Linehan said the Barbers were only admitted upon the day the delegate was elected, and they could not stay there unless they joined the national.

Delegate O'Sullivan asked if they had applied for admission to the national body, and Delegate Klapetzky said he had not as yet received the application.

Delegate Lennon was opposed to referring, and Delegate Duncan said it was the work of central bodies to foster such unions and gradually induce them to join nationals. Financial conditions often handicapped new unions. The evidence produced showed this method would be pursued.

Delegate Elderkin, the president of the Chicago Trades Assembly addressed the Convention at length, speaking eloquently for the formation and advancement of national bodies; and that no local would be allowed to continue in their central body unless it acted in accordance with our constitution.

Delegate Klapetzky said he had received sufficient assurance to justify him in withdrawing his motion, but he would not retract what he said, as the individual at the head of the offending local was an expelled president of his national body.

The motion to recommit was then withdrawn and the report approved.

Delegate Pomeroy then said the local in question had already placed application for charter, with fee, in the possession of the A. F. of L. organizer at Chicago.

Delegate Furuseth asked to distribute the *Red Record*, and explained its contents, treating of the abuses heaped upon seamen.

The Secretary made a statement that the party who had failed to liquidate outstanding accounts of the *Federationist* had now done so, and he wished to withdraw reference therefrom from the Executive Council's report.

So ordered, on motion of Delegate Linehan.

Delegate Tracey, of the Committee on Credentials, said they had reported on the credentials of the brewers in the morning, which was referred until the Executive Council's report was distributed, which had been done; that the protest was from a local union of brewers of Cleveland, O., purporting that the delegates were not elected by the locals in accordance with their constitution; that they did not believe the protest warranted rejection, and they recommended the seating of the delegates.

Delegate-elect Bechtold read a dispatch he had just received, saying the protest had not been passed by the Cleveland union.

The delegates were seated.

The same committee reported the president of the Metal Polishers had protested against the seating of the delegate of the Brass-Workers, claiming the latter was a dual organization. They had investigated the matter, and recommended that the delegate be seated.

Delegate Penna moved to concur.

Delegate Usher said in part that in 1892 the polishers had been granted a charter. A seceding wing of D. A. 252, had formed the Brassworkers some months later, and had received a charter also. They entered protest. On the advice of President Compers they had allowed the matter to rest for the time being,

in an attempt to get together, it being understood their rights were not yielded indefinitely. A conference in Detroit tried to amalgamate, but failed. They had acted in good faith, believing something would be done. They would not submit to the majority of the conference, as both the other two bodies would swamp them. They were organized on trade union principles, which distinctly prohibited dual organization.

Delegate Penna said he would not have moved to concur did he believe there was a dual organization; the Executive Council had given the matter careful consideration, the Brassworkers had been in the Federation for some years and we had accepted their taxes, and it would be unfair to reject its delegate while permitting this and granting a charter.

Secretary McCraith said, both organizations had been granted charters about the same time. The Brassworkers were represented at Denver, no protest was there received, and none for many months thereafter. Said protest ought not to be made on the question of credentials, but in regular manner in the Convention and could be discussed on the report of the Executive Council.

Delegate Usher replied there was a new organization formed at Detroit which had asked for change in name of charter.

Delegate Elderkin moved that the contested delegate be allowed to make a statement.

Delegates Lennon and Usher protested.

Delegate Penna asked if motion was in order and the Chair ruled affirmatively.

Delegates Mahon and Penna spoke in favor of granting the contested delegate the privilege of the floor.

The motion was carried.

Delegate-elect Lynch, of the Brass, Composition and Metal Workers, then addressed the Convention at length. He had done his best to bring this organization into the A. F. of L., from out of the K. of L. At the Detroit conference, the polishers refused to combine, and his organization, N. T. A. 252, had then joined hands with the brass-workers.

Delegate Tobin spoke against recognizing the principle of dual organization in any manner, and hoped the Federation would continue to adhere to it. It would, in this instance, severely affect one of these two bodies, but it would prove the best in the end.

Delegate McBryde moved to amend the report of the Credential Committee by instructing the Executive Council to call a convention

of both bodies with positive instructions to form into one.

Delegate Lennon spoke in favor of granting the delegate a seat, and gave a brief history of the situation.

Delegate Pearce thought we ought to uphold the action of the Executive Council, and favored the seating of the delegate.

Delegate Usher said a protest had been filed against changing the charter name; the Secretary of the Federation had written to their Secretary asking if they had any objection to changing charter.

The Secretary replied that after the Detroit conference in July, a protest had been received from the Polishers. The application for change of charter was not made until October, when he wrote the Secretary of the Polishers

asking, in effect, if they still made objection, and received affirmative reply.

Delegate Gompers spoke in favor of seating the delegates and thought we should not attempt to compel these organizations to unite, but do the best we could to bring it about by other methods. And he hoped the motion to amend would not prevail.

Moved that the hour of adjournment be suspended until the question be settled. Carried.

Delegate McBryde spoke in favor of uniting both, but would withdraw at this time until delegate was seated.

Motion to amend withdrawn.

The motion to seat the delegate was carried.

Delegates Usher and Braunschweiger desired to be recorded in the negative.

Adjourned at 6 o'clock.

### THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

Wednesday, Dec. 11, 1895.

Convention called to order at 9:30.

Roll call was ordered.

Present—Sidener, Weismann, Klapetzky, Tobin, Eaton, Lynch, Jas. Pearce, McGuire, Plumb, Rowland, Linehan, Neuroth, S. Gompers, Dernel, Reichers, Jacobs, Jacobson, Duncan, Kenehan, Albers, Widdowfield, Keough, Valentine, Garland, Keefe, O'Connell, Creamer, Ashe, Usher, Sullivan, Diehl, Dennis, Mahon, Furuseth, Elderkin, Howard, Lennon, Blick, White, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Polard, Tracey, Junio, Parsons, Duffy, Lawrence, McCarthy, Rist, Perkins, Braunschweiger, Boehme, McCallum, Wieman, Lee, Maily, Barter, Kreyling, Lanigan, Simpson, McCulloch, J. Gompers, Marks, O'Sullivan, Nicol, McCambridge, Dummett, Fenning, Costello, Kurzenkabe, Bechtold.

Absent—Barnes, Weiss, Pohle, Penna, McBryde, W. C. Pearce, Gelson, Ryan, Prescott, Kennedy, McGill, Benedict, Pomeroy, Anderson, Hollister, Svindseth, Clark, McGean, Murphy, Mulcare, Mullen, Miller.

Reading of the minutes dispensed with.

The Committee on Credentials reported as follows:

We having examined the credentials of E. A. Drach, representing Chicago Musical Society, No. 5455, recommend that he be seated.

For the committee. Approved.

The chairman also stated that the delegate of the Painters, Jas. H. Sullivan, had been reported upon favorably, and requested that he be seated.

Delegate Duffy moved to concur.

Seconded by Delegate Braunschweiger. Carried.

Delegate Garland asked what standing did the body represented by J. W. McKinney now have in the Federation, and the President replied that it had none.

The Committee on President's Report and the Grievance Committee reported progress.

Communications were read from ex-Secretary Chris Evans, expressing good wishes for the Convention; from the Globe Tobacco Co., tendering a case of tobacco bearing the union label; from the mayor of Indianapolis, expressing the hope that headquarters would not be removed from that city, from the National Eight Hour Union, San Francisco, expressing good wishes for our work on the short-hour day.

A protest was received from the Board of Delegates and the Central Labor Union of New York, against the action of the Tin, Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers National Union in chartering a union of "scabs."

Referred to Grievance Committee.

A request was received from the Carriage

and Wagon Workers' Union No. 4, that the charter be taken from the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly and given to the Labor Congress. Also a notice was received from said Congress that Chas. Dold would represent its interests before the Convention and asking for consideration.

Referred to Grievance Committee .

Resolutions were presented as follows:

No. 31. Delegate Elderkin. On dual organization.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 32. Delegate Tobin. On labels.

Referred to Labels and Boycotts.

No. 33. Delegate Gompers. Protesting against curtailment of the franchise, especially in southern cities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 34. Delegate Lennon. On local and federated bodies.

Referred to committee thereon.

No. 35. Delegate Lawrence. Relating to actors.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 36. Delegate Neuroth. That the Executive Council be instructed to take steps looking to the establishment of postal savings banks.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 37. Delegate Weismann. Regarding the unfairness of the U S. Baking Co.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 38. Delegate Furuseth. On arbitration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 39. Delegate Furuseth. On the McGuire act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 40. Delegate Garland. On the Phillips bill.

Referred to Committee on President's Report

No. 41. Delegate White. On the label of the Tobacco Workers' National Union.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 42. Delegate White. To boycott the American Tobacco Company.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Duncan, in order to prevent confusion, desired to inform the Convention that all boycotts must be approved by the Executive Council.

Delegate Tobin moved that a special meeting of the Executive Council be called, to afford an opportunity to delegates to present boycotts. Carried.

Delegate Mahon moved that a committee of three be appointed to go with Delegate White to the office of the American Tobacco Company in this city, in an effort to unionize that concern. Carried. Subsequently Delegates Gompers and Creamer were appointed.

The report of the Executive Council was considered and Delegate Lee moved that it be approved.

Delegate Kreyling referred to the section bearing on the disagreement between the St. Louis Trades Assembly and the Musicians and moved that as much of the report as referred to grievances be referred to that committee and that all complaints against the Executive Council's report should be there entered.

Weismann moved to amend that we defer action on the balance of the report until the Grievance Committee had reported.

Delegate Tracey stated he noticed the Council had passed a new law respecting federal labor unions, and asked if this practice was correct. The President replied the constitution provided that the Executive Council had power to enact new laws not in conflict with those already in existence.

The motion to defer action on the report until the Grievance Committee could report was carried, and the President was instructed to refer the several matters relating to grievances contained therein to the Grievance Committee in regular way.

Delegate Sidener moved that we discuss the eight-hour day on Friday at 10 A. M., and that it be made a special order.

Delegate Lennon moved to amend that it read Saturday instead of Friday, which was accepted and adopted.

Delegate Mahon moved that we adjourn until 2 o'clock to give committees time to consider and report.

Delegate Lennon gave notice of the hall to be held that evening, and invited all to be present.

Delegate Plumb invited all to participate in a general conference meeting of the carpenters of New York on Friday night.

Adjourned at 11:15.

### THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

Called to order at 2 o'clock.

The Chair appointed the following delegates on the special committee on eight-hour day: Jacobson, Muller, Weismann, Dernel, Barter, and an advisory member, George E. McNeill.

On the charter of the Chicago central body: Widdowfield, Ashe, Furuseth, McCarthy, Lee.

The following message was received from Frances Willard, president of the Women's Christian Union:

Evanson, Ill., Dec. 1, 1895.

John McBride, American Federation of Labor:  
Dear Brother—I feel honored by your invitation, and should certainly speak at your annual Convention if I could go to New York. But I have come south to work for the winter, and definite engagements will hold me here. I need not reiterate what I have put into my speeches and writings for many years, that I am heart and soul with the wage-working men and women of this country in their efforts to realize what Ruskin says: "There is no wealth but life," and to make it that "life more abundant" in good-will of which the Divine Carpenter of Nazareth gave us the supreme illustration in his words and deeds.

Temperance, purity, equality, fraternity, these are the deathless watchwords that shall give us home protection, saloon destruction and a chance not only to live but to live well.

God bless you one and all is the prayer of your sister,

FRANCES WILLARD.

Communication from the Montana Labor Council, endorsing the movement toward establishing the eight-hour day.

Referred to Eight-Hour Committee.

Delegate Lennon moved that the President be instructed to send suitable reply to Frances Willard, thanking her for consideration shown.

Moved that the fraternal delegates of the W. C. T. U. be received at tomorrow's session.

Amendment to read "at 10 o'clock" lost, and original motion carried.

The President called for the report of the fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress, and Delegate Gompers stated it was in the hands of the printer.

Moved that the roll call be dispensed with. Carried.

Resolutions were offered as follows:

No. 43. By Delegate Junio. Regarding amendment to New York constitution prohibiting employment of convicts on any work other than production of supplies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 44. By Delegate Ashe. That written constitutions for state or nation be abolished.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 45. By Delegate Klapetzky. Relative to granting support to the Barbers' International Union in gaining the Sunday Rest Day, thereby shortening the hours of labor of that craft.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 46. By same. Relative to instruct organizers of the A. F. of L. for the better organization of barbers in unorganized cities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 47. By Delegate Widdowfield. To notify affiliated bodies to refrain from patronizing the Fuller-Warren Company, of Milwaukee, Wis.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts and Labels.

No. 48. By Delegate Kurzenknebe. To call a meeting of representatives of all labor organizations of the United States and Canada for the purpose of abolishing internal fights between labor organizations.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 49. By Delegate Weismann. Protest against present disgraceful operation of bakeries in this country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 50. By the same. Advocating the extending of the patronage of the label of the Bakers' International Union.

Referred to Committee on Boycott and Labels.

No. 51. By the same. Regarding the suspension of all organizations not affiliated with the national union of their trade.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

No. 52. By Delegate Wieman. To boycott the products of Kipp Bros., of Milwaukee.

Referred to Committee on Boycott and Labels.

No. 53. By Delegate Pollard. To reendorse the boycott of the Hopedale Elastic Fabric Co., of Hopedale, Mass.; also on the product of Thomas Taylor, of Hudson, Mass.

Referred to Committee on Boycott and Labels.

No. 54. By the same. Recommending the eight hour day for elastic weavers.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Hours.

No. 55. By the same. Recommending the organization of the Suspender and Narrow Elastic Goods Weavers, of the U. S.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 56. By Delegate Muller. Recommending the forming of a National Alliance of Musicians.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 57. By Delegate O'Sullivan. To consider the advisability of changing pledge of A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Law.

No. 58. By Delegate Kurzenknebe. Relative to raising certain boycotts; also to reendorse and the re-enforcement of the Geo. Ehret boycott.

Referred to Committee on Boycott and Labels.

No. 59. By Delegate Boehme. That we endeavor to organize the Engineers under a national head.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

RESOLVED, By the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the experience each recurring year makes more positive our conviction, that dual organization in any craft or calling, is dangerous to the welfare of the workers in such crafts and callings.

RESOLVED, That we again declare in most positive terms, that we believe the trade union form of organization to be the safest and best in every respect for the protection of all the interests of the workers, and

RESOLVED, That we most cordially invite all trade unions in North America, such as Bricklayers' International Union, Plasterers' Union, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Brotherhood of Trainmen, etc., etc., as bona fide trade unions, to affiliate with the A. F. of L. and aid us in maintaining the principles of trade unionism, to the end that labor interests may be furthered and protected.

Recommended its adoption. So ordered.

RESOLVED. That this Convention regards the system of capital punishment as barbarous and degrading, and we are of the opinion that this revolting practice should be abolished by Congress and Legislatures of the several States.

Recommended its adoption.

Delegate Pomeroy wished to go on record as emphatically opposing the resolution. There were crimes committed which deserved capital punishment.

Delegate Gompers denied the right of any man to take life, either legally or otherwise.

The resolution was adopted.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be, and it is hereby directed, to secure the passage of a law by Congress, or an "order" from the executive departments for the publication of government contractors, and the particulars of

the contracts, in the *Labor Bulletin* of the United States.

Recommended its adoption. So ordered.

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, disapprove and condemn until such time as the States and territories shall enforce full, free and compulsory education upon all children in their respective jurisdiction, the attempt now being made to curtail and contract the suffrage of their citizens.

RESOLVED, That we call upon the unions of labor and all other fair minded citizens to take such action as shall thwart all attempts to strike a blow at manhood suffrage.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and it is hereby authorized and directed to lend every aid, and if necessary, take the initiative to carry out the purposes of these resolutions.

Recommended its adoption. So ordered.

Committee recommended that resolution 27 be referred to committee on short hour day. So ordered.

WHEREAS, The system of supervision exercised over the labor employed in the arsenals and navy yards of the United States is made to bear with undue harshness upon employees; and

WHEREAS, Tyrannical treatment at the hands of petty officials is not conducive to getting the best results from workmen, nor in any way tend to promote the interests of the government; and

WHEREAS, The petty tyranny of officials has been carried so far in the Brooklyn Navy Yard as to result in the discharge of many of the best workmen employed there, and, in addition, to blacklisting the discharged men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor at Washington, be, and is hereby instructed to try to have the laws and rules governing the employment of labor in national establishments so amended that men employed by the government shall work under as good conditions as exist in private workshops.

Recommended its adoption. So ordered.

WHEREAS, The moral influence of organized labor is necessary to demonstrate to the actors of this country the necessity of unionism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommends that whenever entertainments be held under the auspices of or by trade unions, that preference be given to members of the Actors' National Protective Union.

RESOLVED, That organized labor of America be requested to patronize only such theatres as give preference of employment to union actors.

Recommended its adoption. So ordered.

RESOLVED, That we favor the immediate free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, without the aid or consent of any other nation on earth.

The committee would substitute the following:



RESOLVED, That we reaffirm the position taken by the Federation Convention held at Denver; that is, we favor the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and that a copy of the resolutions printed in the report of 1894, page 29, be forwarded to the President and the chairman of the Committee of Finance of both Houses of Congress.

So ordered.

WHEREAS, The Commissioner of Navigation in his report recommends that "An act to amend an act relative to shipping commission approved February 18, 1895, be amended so as to permit allotment to original creditor, and further, that seamen shall forfeit their clothing for non-fulfillment of any contract to labor in any vessel of the United States, and

WHEREAS, Such proposed legislation would again make the seamen the helpless victims of the crimps, and take away from them almost all the benefits derived from the Act of February 18, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, denounce such proposed legislation as reactionary and utterly uncalled for, either on the plea of necessity or justice, and further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon Congress to extend all the benefits of the above mentioned law to all seamen in our merchant marine.

Recommended its adoption. So ordered.

WHEREAS, Various so-called arbitration bills were introduced in the last Congress; and

WHEREAS, Those bills were compulsory either in whole or in their provision for obedience to the decision of the arbitrators, and

WHEREAS, Any law which will compel men to work within these United States against their will is subversive of the fundamental principles upon which the Republic is founded, and

WHEREAS, We hold the right to quit work at any time to be absolute and inalienable, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled do most earnestly and emphatically protest against any so-called arbitration bill, which would in any way by contract or otherwise make it an offense under the law to quit employment at any time or for any reason deemed sufficient by the worker himself.

Recommend its adoption.

Delegate Fursuth was called upon to speak on the resolution, and said, in part, that during the last year things had happened which makes it necessary for us to reaffirm our position on the subject of arbitration. There was introduced in last Congress a resolution on the subject, by the inter-state commerce commission, containing the very dangerous feature of compulsion, affecting the liberty of the individual so that it was absolutely necessary for us to take cognizance thereof. This bill attempted to get around the thirteenth amendment, to make it possible for the individual or combination to contract their rights away. When

such a contract for arbitration would be made, no one could strike or leave employment, excepting on three months' notice, or suffer a years' imprisonment. It was openly stated the bill was to prevent strikes. One Congressman had said, in discussing the bill, "We must have something in this country to prevent strikes." The seaman had experience with this kind of legislation, and recognized the trap; every person employed on articles going from state to state would be involved in the provisions of the bill. It is the same legislation which destroyed the English labor movement in the fifteenth century, so ably told by Thorold Rogers. He had taken it upon himself, while at Washington, to combat the bill. It was slightly amended in committee; and when submitted to the house, the worst feature, that of penal punishment for quitting work, had been stricken out, he desired the Convention and the A. F. of L. to go on record as opposed to this attempt at compulsory arbitration now and to any future attempt.

The report was then adopted as read.

WHEREAS, All union clerks are furnished with a working card (sample enclosed), color of same being changed each quarter, which he, when on duty, must be in possession of, we have used all honorable means in our power to induce union men to demand these working cards, when purchasing goods. Our members are obligated to push the sale of union made goods, and yet we stand idle, while non-union clerks wait upon union men. I beg upon your honorable body, to take such action as would seem most advisable, to change the above conditions. We are united for the purpose of bettering our conditions, and without the support of each other we would make but little progress. Try and remember the duties you owe to yourselves and your fellow man, the benefits will accrue to the fair labor, as against convict labor, engaged in the manufacture of all kinds and classes of merchandise. To our association the benefits will be untold. Our members will then command the respect of their employers, and cheerfully support and uphold the union, because as union men they are supported and upheld. We wish to call attention to the badge worn by retail clerks, many members in arrears wear same, therefore the adoption of the working card. Always demand the card. If your aid in this matter does not have a beneficent result, then we will be compelled to conclude that there is something besides thoughtlessness, which causes us to forget the interests of one another. As the future success of our organization greatly depends upon the interest manifested by your honorable body, both in session and among your constituencies. Again I beg of your honorable body to take such action as would be most proper, to assist us in maintaining and increasing our membership, also in organizing the clerks at points where there are no local branches.

The committee substituted the following:

That in the matter of fostering the Retail Clerks' Association, the incoming Executive

Council call the attention of all affiliated bodies to the necessity of demanding the working cards of that association from clerks when purchasing goods; also to call the attention of A. F. of L. organizers to the necessity of organizing unions of retail clerks in localities where none exist.

Adopted.

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, most strenuously protest against the government allowing the enlisted men in its military or naval service who have the advantage of being furnished with lodging, clothing, food, medical attendance and pay at public expense, to compete in any field of labor with civilians who have none of these advantages.

Substitute by committee:

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be directed to cause the introduction of a bill in Congress covering the point complained of in the resolution.

Adopted.

The Committee on Labels and Boycotts reported favorable upon the following, recommending the withdrawal of any endorsement of other Boot and Shoe Workers' Union labels in the past:

WHEREAS, Rival national organizations heretofore existing among the Boot and Shoe Workers have been contending for the supremacy, resulting in a division of the workers into small factions, and

WHEREAS, This division has operated to the detriment of the Boot and Shoe Workers with a two-fold effect.

1st. In making impossible that unity of action necessary in any trade to protect the workers from the encroachments of the employer, and

2d. In depriving the Boot and Shoe Workers of the benefits to be derived from the assistance of other organized trades through the use of a label representing a united craft, and

WHEREAS, The Boot and Shoe Workers at a joint convention held in Boston, April 10, 1895, formed a new national organization, into which all existing national organizations were merged, thus completing an amalgamation of the organized shoe workers into one organization known as the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and

WHEREAS, The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union has adopted as a trade-mark or label of the craft a device known as the "Union Stamp," said "Union Stamp" being a steel die in the design of a shield, with factory number attached, to be impressed upon the soles of only such boots and shoes as are made entirely by union workers, under fair conditions, and

WHEREAS, The amalgamation of the different factions of the organized workers in any trade into one organization and under one head is one of the basic principles of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1st, That the American Federation of Labor, in fifteenth annual convention assembled, does hereby heartily endorse the

action of the organized boot and shoe workers in their efforts to unite the craft.

2d. That all endorsements heretofore given by the American Federation of Labor to labels, stamps, trade-marks or devices representing the whole or any part of the boot and shoe workers be and hereby are withdrawn.

3d. That the union stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union be and hereby is endorsed as the label or trade-mark of the organized boot and shoe workers and that no boots or shoes shall be considered as union made except they bear upon the sole an impression of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union stamp, with factory number attached; and be it further

RESOLVED, That no national, international, local or federal labor union, State branch, central body or any other organization that is now or may be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall lend encouragement or give support to any device, label or trade-mark on boots and shoes other than the union stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That any national, international, local or federal labor union, State branch, central body, or any other organization now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, giving endorsement, encouragement or support to any label, trade-mark or device on boots and shoes, other than the "Union Stamp" of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, be and hereby is instructed to immediately withdraw such endorsement, encouragement, or support in the interest of a thorough unity of the craft.

Delegate Pomeroy desired to refer the matter to a special committee. They had an organization of shoeworkers in the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly, which was not connected with the national body. He was not opposed to the motion; on the contrary, he desired to bring about harmony.

Delegate Eaton gave a sketch of previous labels of the trade, and stated that the label presented at Denver had been dropped. They had called a conference of all shoemakers the past year in Boston, and amalgamation had been effected. The Chicago local had notified them they were with them, and would join if national was formed. They had steadily progressed in spite of the depression in their trade, and expected the coming year to combine more shoemakers than ever before. Efforts had been made to get the Chicago union into the fold, but had been unsuccessful so far, although their relations were pleasant. Organization was on the eve of revival, and they desired to take advantage of the situation. He did not see any necessity to refer.

The Chair stated there was no motion before the house.

Delegate Pomeroy moved that the matter be recommitted. The Chicago union reciprocated the good feelings on the part of the national body, and they desired a conference before the case was disposed of. A hearing would

tend to bring the two organizations together.

Delegate Ashe moved to lay the matter on the table until 11 o'clock to-morrow.

Seconded by Elderkin. Carried.

The same committee further reported:

WHEREAS, The boycott on the products of the U. S. Baking Co., one of the most pronounced enemies of organized labor in this country, owing to the obstinacy of the firm and the lack of support on the part of affiliated unions, has so far failed to produce the result sought, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Executive Council to publish a circular to all affiliated organizations setting forth the reasons of the boycott and asking their support.

The Committee offered the following substitute:

RESOLVED, That Bakers submit copy of circular to Executive Council and if approved that council endorse them to Bakers to be by them issued to all affiliated unions.

Adopted.

WHEREAS, The clothing manufacturers of the City of Rochester, N. Y., combined as the "Rochester Clothiers' Exchange," have caused the recent large and prolonged strike of their operatives owing to the oppression and impositions practiced upon them; and

WHEREAS, The said "Rochester Clothiers' Exchange" has repeatedly demonstrated its policy of suppressing every effort made by the Garment Workers of that city to organize for self-protection and for the advancement of their interests; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has endorsed the struggle against this Rochester Clothiers' combination, after due investigation and knowledge of the facts; therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled do hereby urge upon the trade unions and sympathizers everywhere to use their best endeavors to prevent the sale of Rochester made clothing in their respective localities by sending out committees to wait upon the retail dealers, etc., and to continue to work and agitate until the clothing manufacturers of Rochester abide by the union conditions of the United Garment Workers of America.

Adopted.

Delegate Reichers said: It took the garment workers three and a half years to organize the employes of the clothing industry at Rochester after the unions of the trade were disrupted by the Rochester Clothiers' Association. They found after a ten weeks' struggle with this Rochester combine that they had a fund of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars laid aside for the avowed purpose of disrupting labor organizations of our craft. They asked organized labor everywhere to prevail upon retail clothiers throughout the country to abstain from patronizing their product until they comply with the same condi-

tions as their competitors in other clothing centres.

WHEREAS, The Cigarmakers Local Union, No. 22, and Cigar Packers Local Union, No. 284, of Detroit have been on a strike for the past six months; and

WHEREAS, The said local unions are fighting for a principle, viz., that of illy paid women and child labor; and

WHEREAS, The following firms of Detroit, Brown Bros., Banner Cigar Co. and Star (annex) Detroit Cigar Co. (Green Seal), Harrington & Onelle, George Moles & Co., Alex Gordon & Co., Wm. Tegge & Co., H. Deitz & Co., and Gross & Co. are upholding women and child slavery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled endorse the boycott of the Cigarmakers' and Packers Union of Detroit.

Delegate Barter appealed strongly for support of the Detroit Cigarmakers in this struggle, and desired all delegates present to notify their constituencies.

Delegate Elderkin said he had read of 233 boycotts the past year, and there was not enough interest taken in them.

The report was adopted.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifteenth Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled in New York City:

Gentlemen—

WHEREAS, The Metropolitan and the Prudential Insurance Companies have formed an agreement between themselves to not employ any agent who has worked for the other company without the consent of the president of the company the agent previously worked for, and have drawn up a contract (each company using the same form), of which the below is a portion:

AGENTS' AGREEMENT WITH METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

Section 6. The total amount of weekly premiums in the Life Policy Register, after deducting the total weekly premiums in the Lapsed Policy Register, are to be debited to my account on Monday of each and every week. This account shall be known as the "Collectible Debit," as the same is hereinafter made a basis of my compensation. This Collectible Debit shall be considered as having been absolutely received by me for the company, and the company shall not be required to prove that I actually received the premiums or any of them. This clause is not to be taken as a waiver of or as affecting any rights of the company otherwise secured by this agreement.

Section 7. I agree that the condition of my account with the company, either before or after the termination of my employment by the company, shall be ascertained and determined by an inspection of my weekly accounts or my ledger, and by my collection books or the premium receipt books of the policy-holders included in my debit; such inspection may be made at the direction of the company at any time; with or without notice to me, and by any person authorized by the company to make it; and when made, whether before or after the

termination of my agency, whether I shall be present at the inspection or not, I agree that the actual condition of my account with the company shall be determined by the report of the inspection as it shall be made by the authorized person aforesaid as he shall compute the same from his entries in the inspection book. And as I hereby give such employee, who shall inspect my agency, as aforesaid, full power and authority to compute the sum due by me to the company as it shall appear upon such inspection by him, and I hereby ratify his computation, and agree that the result thereof shall be my indebtedness to the company, hereby waiving the production of my evidence other than such report and account. And I agree that this indebtedness, so computed and affixed as aforesaid, shall be the amount to be recovered by the company upon any bond which I have given or shall hereafter give to the company, and shall be deducted from any deposit of money or other property heretofore or hereafter made by me in lieu of such bond; and agree in case of such deposit of money or property that the same shall not be returned to me until my accounts with the company shall have been fully examined by it, and the same adjusted and paid by me.

Section 8. The business embraced in my agency shall belong to the company, and shall not be transferred or sold by me. I agree not to accept any compensation from my successor or other person for the transfer of the business of my agency.

Section 9. I agree to give to the company, through my superintendent, not less than seven days' previous notice in writing of my intention to resign the agency. And should I resign or be dismissed I agree, upon request of any officer of this company, or the superintendent, to introduce to any person designated by him, all the policy-holders on my books.

Section 10. My appointment as agent may be revoked and this agreement terminated by the company at its pleasure, with or without cause and without notice. Such salary as I shall have received up to the date of my resignation, or up to the date of the termination of this agreement by the company, shall be in full payment and satisfaction of all my services to the company, and of my compensation under this agreement and of all claims upon the company.

Section 12. I further agree not to call or attend any meeting or join any combination of agents or policy-holders of this or any other company or society, unless such call, meeting or combination be authorized in writing by the president of this company, and

WHEREAS, The American Agents Association has for over six months endeavored through their executive officers to have these portions of said contracts amended so as to be fair with both, the agents and firms employing them, and

WHEREAS, As the aforesaid companies promptly discharge or change locations of superintendents as soon as our locals commence action against said companies' locals, thus leaving us with no one to fight, and

WHEREAS, Said sections of contract are antagonistic not only to the members of the American Agents Association, but also against all branches of organized labor. The American Agents Association through their executive officers ordered me as their delegate to respectively request your honorable body to

make a demand through your organization that these companies amend their contracts with agents, so as to meet the wishes of the Union Agents represented by the American Agents Association being fair to both the companies and agents employed.

The Committee recommended:

RESOLVED, That the committee recommend that the Secretary of the A. F. of L. communicate with the Prudential and Metropolitan Insurance Companies, and endeavor to secure a modification of contracts with agents in accord with the wishes of the American Agents' Association.

Delegate Sidener said they did not desire to boycott, but would much rather adopt any suggestion tending toward harmony.

The substitute was adopted.

Resolution on discontinuing the publication of the fair list in the Official organ. Believing that the publication of the fair list in the *Federationist* is unjust, because it is impossible to publish all fair firms, and it is sane to assume that all firms or corporations not published in the unfair list are fair firms. Be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the publication of the fair list be discontinued, and the space thus saved be devoted to giving a brief outline of the causes leading to firms being placed on the unfair list, and the goods manufactured by them.

The committee recommended adoption.

The Secretary opposed the report of the Committee; the fair list was indispensable and much appreciated.

Delegate Braunschweiger thought it was free advertising.

Delegate Tobin thought that no firm should be included in the fair list unless it used a union label or some stamp of the trade, and moved to that effect and seconded by Delegate Diehl.

Delegate Pomeroy said too much time was spent in fighting our enemies and not enough in advertising our friends. "One friend aided is an enemy raided." The affair should be left to the discretion of our officers.

Delegate Pomeroy offered a substitute that a special committee be appointed on the *Federationist*, to whom all such matters should be referred.

Delegate McCarthy spoke in favor of the report to abolish the list, saying we should not advertise any line of business.

Delegate Penna moved the previous question.

Delegate Tobin withdrew his motion.

Previous question carried, and the motion of Delegate Pomeroy to appoint a special com-

mittee on the *Federationist*, was adopted by a vote of 27 to 23.

Delegate McGuire notified the Convention that tickets to the ball would be distributed.

The Secretary read an invitation from the Socialist Labor party of New York, to attend a mass meeting in Cooper Institute, Friday evening.

Delegate Jacobson desired that all matters relating to the central body in Chicago be referred to the special committee thereon.

Delegate McGuire alluded to the strike of the house-smiths in New York City, and presented the following:

WHEREAS, The House-smiths' and Bridge-men's Unions of New York City are engaged in a desperate and manly struggle against a powerful combination of employers, known as "The Iron League," the men having been on strike over a month, and hundreds of men are involved. The contest is one of fair working conditions and trade union principles, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor do here and now express our most unqualified sympathy with the house-smiths in their contest, and we urge on all trade labor organizations to give them every possible help and assistance.

President Larry of the House-smiths Union, was then introduced and stated they had tried all possible means to prevent the conflict, but that it was inevitable. They had been refused recognition. On the wages they were receiving they could not support their families decently nor educate their children. He thanked the Convention for its expressions of sympathy and co-operation.

Delegate Duncan moved to adopt resolutions as read.

Carried.

The Chair stated that Delegate Linehan had withdrawn from the Committee of President's Address and Delegate Lynch had been appointed in his stead.

Resolutions offered.

No. 60. By P. H. Penna. Regarding the affiliation of Boot and Shoe Workers of Chicago with Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 61. By Delegate McGuire. Regarding high dues and beneficial features in trades unions.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 62. By Delegate Jacobson. Addition to Article III., Section 3. After the word "president" "and report of Executive Council."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 63. By Delegate Ryan. To endeavor to bring all stage employes unions into the national body of their craft.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 64.—Delegate Eaton. On organization of boot and shoe workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 65.—Delegate McCulloch. To form a national body of core-makers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 66.—Delegate Klapetzky. Relative to non-affiliated locals in our central bodies.

Referred to Committee on Law.

No. 67.—Delegate O'Sullivan. Relative to carrying mail on street cars.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Kenehan suggested that Joseph Buchanan be requested to address the Convention. Mr. Buchanan was not present.

The President appointed, as committee on *Federationist*, Delegates Pomeroy, Tobin, White, Perkins, Braunschweiler.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that Geo. E. McNeil be invited to address the Convention. Carried.

Mr. McNeil tendered his appreciation of the high honor conferred upon him in being granted a seat in the Convention. He referred to the attitude of unorganized labor, and the benefit it derived from organized labor. He remembered when our representatives went from town to town to organize the textile industries, how they were refused shelter and endured hardships and as an indication of the advancement that had been made, we had in this convention a delegate from that industry, and a Senator of Massachusetts, which lent us encouragement and showed the industrial situation was not hopeless. He spoke for high dues, beneficial features, shorter hours and higher wages. He spoke of the work done by the carpenters, the cigarmakers, and others. The condition of the latter body to-day was in striking contrast to the era of the tenement house. The tenement house production was gone and the union flag waved triumphant.

He alluded to the advance of the Garment Workers who at one time were almost in a hopeless condition and now we all rejoiced at the success they had achieved. He gloried in the American spirit of individual liberty, but too often it was preached and not practiced. We could not hope to secure it by political methods alone, but by taking advantage of every indication of success to press forward. He declared he was an evolutionary socialist, not a revolutionary.

He who stands in the way of affiliation and organization with the A. F. of L. was the bitterest enemy of socialism, and the trusted generosity would prevail in spite of differing opinions.

Adjourned at 5:30.

## FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

Thursday, Dec. 12, 1895.

Convention called to order at 9:30.

Roll call ordered.

Present—Sidener, Klapetzky, Tobin, Eaton, Lynch, Jas. Pearce, McGuire, Plumb, Barnes, Neuroth, Jacobs, Jacobson, Duncan, Kenehan, Albers, Garland, Ashe, W. C. Pearce, Sullivan, Diehl, Dennis, Mahon, Furuseh, Elderkin, Howard, White, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Pollard, Tracey, Junia, Parsons, Duffy, Rist, Perkins, McGill, Benedict, McCallum, Wieman, Lee, Mailly, Barter, Pomeroy, Anderson, Lanigan, McCulloch, Marks, Nicol, Svindseth, McCambridge, Fenning, Clark, Costello, Drach.

Absent—Weismann, Kurzeiknabe, Bechtold, Rowland, Linehan, S. Gompers, Dernell, Weiss, Reichers, Widdowfield, Keough, Valentine, Keefe, O'Connell, Creamer, Pohle, Usher, Penna, McBryde, Gelson, Lennon, Blick, Ryan, Lawrence, McCarthy, Kennedy, Braunschweiger, Boehme, Kreyling, Simpson, J. Gompers, O'Sullivan, Hollister, Dummett, McGean, Murphy, Mulcare, Mullen, Miller.

The Credentials Committee reported as follows:

New York, Dec. 12, 1895.

We, the undersigned, your Committee on Credentials, having considered the credentials of J. T. Kelly, of the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, recommend that the credentials be accepted, and the delegate seated.

THOS. J. ELDERKIN,  
D. P. ROWLAND,  
WILLIAM MAILLY,  
T. F. TRACEY.

The Committee on Organization reported as follows:

RESOLVED, That the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to try and organize the Suspender and Narrow Elastic Goods Weavers' of the United States. The largest part of said business being located in the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The majority of the weavers employed in this industry being females, a woman organizer would be preferable.

That it be referred to Executive Council.

Adopted.

To the Officers and Members of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

GREETING: The Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, through its delegate, hereby submits the following for your earnest consideration and support:

WHEREAS, The Legislatures of the States of New York, Illinois and Missouri passed within the last year laws which compel the barber shops of those states to close on Sunday;

WHEREAS, Such legislation has had a tendency to improve, the moral, social and financial condition of the journeymen barbers and has also reduced the hours of labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we heartily approve of such legislation, and that we pledge ourselves to encourage similar legislation in other states;

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board be and is hereby instructed to further the efforts of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union in this direction and to instruct all affiliated bodies to render all assistance in their power.

Respectfully submitted,

JOURNEYMEN BARBERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA,

By W. E. Klapetzky, Delegate.

Committee recommended that it be referred to Executive Council.

Adopted.

WHEREAS, There are at present fully twenty locals of musicians in the United States affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and seeing the necessity of a national organization with a charter from your body, as well as the decided advantage such affiliation would be; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we request the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to exert every effort to consummate said national alliance, and suggest the appointment of a committee to act.

Committee recommends its adoption.

The President hoped the matter would be referred to the Executive Council, as another attempt would be made when the National League of Musicians next met in Convention.

Delegate Klapetzky said the Committee did not intend that positive instructions be given the Executive Council to organize a national body, and they would, therefore, amend the report, and would move that the matter be referred to the Executive Council.

So ordered.

Submitted by the Journeymen Barbers' International Union, by its Delegate, W. E. Klapetzky:

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board shall furnish to the commissioned organizers of the A. F. of L. such organizing matter as will be sent to them by the Barbers' International Union, and that the Executive Board shall instruct the organizers to use the same in organizing the members of that craft in unorganized cities.

The Committee recommended that it be referred to Executive Council to distribute literature when received.

Adopted.

Brooklyn, N. Y., December 9, 1895.

GENTLEMEN: We applied to the officers of your honorable body on Nov. 11, '95, for a charter, at the same time informing them who we were, also asking that in case there be any objection raised to the granting of a charter, that an investigation be made by them be-

fore our application was rejected. This, we are sorry to say, has been refused.

Your officers advised us to attach ourselves to either the International Typographical Union or the Association of Machinists.

We are desirous of becoming affiliated with the International Union, but are being opposed and prevented to a certain extent by the International Association of Machinists.

We are in every sense an allied craft of the printing trade, and are employed in printing offices in the capacity of a mechanical engineer, and therefore do not recognize the International Association of Machinists as having any jurisdiction over us, or of any benefit to us in our line of business.

We therefore respectfully petition you to cause an investigation to be made at once, by committee or otherwise, as may suit your convenience, so we may have an opportunity to defend our organization and its members and demonstrate to you that our position is tenable and that we are entitled to recognition.

The Committee had decided to refer the matter to the Convention, as both machinists and printers were claiming jurisdiction over these men.

The President stated the matter had been investigated, and conclusion reached that they were machinists and belong to that organization.

Delegate Ashe: They were machinists simply employed on special work, and if they were not so employed, they would be with the machinists again. The I. A. M. and the I. T. U. had tried to form an agreement, but, upon submitting it to a referendum vote, both organizations rejected it. These men had been refused a charter by the I. T. U. He courted inquiry, but saw no reason for it. The case was plain; it was simply preposterous for them to claim superiority over other machinists, as to take charge of a type-setting machine required no special ability.

Delegate Bramwood supported the remarks of the previous speaker. These men belonged to the machinists union. There was to be a conference this evening of all the parties concerned, and he would move that it be deferred until result was known.

Delegate Prescott hoped the Convention would not interfere at this time, and thus upset the work of the conference.

Deferred.

The Committee further reported that Delegates Howard and Tobin would be requested to appear before them, relative to resolutions concerning them.

Delegate Lennon moved that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with.

Carried.

The following was read:

#### KODAKING—FINANCE—LABOR SITUATION.

Citizen President McBride and Members National Labor Federation, in Convention Assembled, Madison Square Garden.

Outside parties, politics, organizations of every kind, having on land and sea, had hundred thousand laborers under my orders (sons strikes, or complaints), always meeting my contracts to their satisfaction. As you have outside speakers, *vide* Swinton-Ducey *et al*, will you allow me half-hour's talk to kodak on black board our shipwrecked finance and labor situation?

No favors to ask, or place to seek, with nothing, but good will towards industrial orders to help the laborer. Don't trouble yourself to answer unless your delegates (unanimously) would like to see forecast of coming events, any hour you select?

Just as well evening or after Convention hours, or Sunday morning, afternoon or evening, as you choose?

With psychic regards,

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN,

Continental Hotel, 20th St. and Broadway.

Delegate Pomeroy moved that Mr. Train be invited to address the Convention.

Carried.

Grand Master Sargent of the Locomotive Firemen was introduced and spoke of the importance of our work. He came as an humble representative of a trade union, in accord with the principles we represented. He would extend fraternal greetings from 21,000 loyal firemen enrolled under the banner of the trade union, and he looked forward hopefully to the time when they would be with us in Convention. The future depended upon greater organization and unity.

Delegate Jacobson desired to introduce Mr. Derflinger, organizer of the local printers' union, who had a matter of importance to communicate. Mr. Derflinger was introduced, and stated that for some years a warfare had been waged against the clothing firm of Hacket, Carhart & Co.; that his firm sent for him yesterday stating they desired to conform to union conditions and have the boycott lifted, and the matter was then settled.

Delegate Reichers desired to thank the American Federation of Labor and the various unions affiliated, for the assistance rendered in the matter in bringing the firm to time.

Delegate Pomeroy moved that a rising vote of thanks be tendered to Grand Master Sargent for his fraternal expressions.

Carried.

The President then tendered the thanks of the Convention to Mr. Sargent, who suitably replied.

The Secretary read the following:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—

**GREETING:** By a unanimous vote the fourth annual convention of the National Seamen's Union adopted the following:

**RESOLVED,** That the sincere thanks of the seamen of America be and is hereby extended to the American Federation of Labor for the invaluable aid and support, both moral and financial, extended to the members of the seafaring fraternity in securing the passage of the McGuire Bill, which tends toward the amelioration of inhuman conditions which have surrounded the life of American seamen.

**RESOLVED,** That our thanks are also eminently due to Bros. Adolph Strassen and Andrew Furuseth, both of whom labored energetically and successfully to secure the passage of the above mentioned measure.

T. J. ELDERKIN,  
Sec'y Seamen's National Union.

The following resolutions were then offered:

No. 68. By Delegate Klapetzky. Relative to having central bodies compel local barbers' unions to procure a charter, within three months, from the International Union.

Referred to Committee on Law.

No. 69. By same. Relative to organizing the barbers in unorganized cities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Pomeroy offered the following:

**WHEREAS,** Dissentions exist between unions of certain organized crafts attached to the American Federation of Labor—dissentions which are dangerous to the organization immediately concerned and to union labor in general—divisions which every union wage-worker is deeply interested in harmonizing; therefore be it

**RESOLVED,** That a special committee of five representatives of central trades councils be and is appointed, said committee to be known as committee of conciliation; said committee to call before them the representatives of the unions interested, among which may be prominently mentioned the Brewers' National Union and local 18 of Chicago, and the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America as represented by both Messrs. Elliot and McKenney, and such other matters of like character as may be deemed necessary to aid in bringing about that harmony so essential to trades union success.

Adopted.

The following resolutions were then offered:  
No. 70. By Delegate Duncan. To amend the eight hour congressional law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 71. By Delegate Higgins. Relating to government ownership of the telegraph.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 72. By Delegate Sidener. Relating to the recognition of the canvassers' badge.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts and Labels.

No. 73. By Delegate O'Connell. Advocating

the joining together of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 74. By Delegate Sullivan. To help build up the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

The special order on boot and shoe makers' label was here taken up.

Delegate Eaton called upon Delegate Pomeroy to report the result of their conference with the Chicago Union, which was ordered the previous day.

Delegate Pomeroy stated conference had been held between the boot and shoemakers' union and the local union of the same craft of Chicago, and that all matters had been amicably adjusted; and he would ask that Mr. Jones, of the Chicago local, be allowed to address the Convention.

Approved.

Mr. Jones said they had always done their best to organize their craft by fostering friendly relations and otherwise. In line with this, they had conferred yesterday, and he was pleased to say, a satisfactory conclusion to all parties had been reached.

Delegate Tobin expressed his pleasure at the outcome; there really never was any conflict between the organizations, and he now looked for entire success in the future.

Moved that the label of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union be approved, in accordance with Committee's report on the day previous. Carried.

The following resolution was then offered:

No. 75. By Delegate Albers. Against the vampire system of employment agencies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Eltweed Pomeroy, editor of the *Direct Legislation Record*, was introduced, and said in part he considered it an honor to speak before such a gathering, the representatives of the common people of whom the great Lincoln said, "God must have loved them; he made so many of them." It was also an honor to meet the men who had first championed the principle of self-government embodied in direct legislation. He was here to force home some of the old truths to inspire new vigor in which his aim would be accomplished. We had led the advance. Wendell Phillips was condemned as a dangerous demagogue; now he was almost revered as a saint. Henry D. Lloyd said: "There is often only a generation between a demagogue and a demi-god." Reforms come from the protests of the martyr and the victim. He



made an appeal for a greater effort for the principles of direct legislation, the father of which, in this country, was a member of our organization, J. W. Sullivan. It is said we must not go into politics. This was right in a party sense. Partisan organization was sure death. But in the broader sense we must go into politics, bound to no party. This could be done by the initiative and referendum, which must be secured by more light and more noise on our part. It was not a panacea, but a great step in advance. Vigilance is the price of liberty, and a nation is not worthy of

free institutions if it cannot defend and enlarge them.

The following resolutions were then offered:

No. 76. By Delegate M. M. Jacobs. To reaffirm boycott against Clement, Banc & Co. Referred to Committee on Boycotts and Labels.

No. 77. By Delegate Ashe. On violation of eight hour law on Government work by Phoenix Bridge Co.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress, then reported as follows:

#### REPORT OF DELEGATES TO THE BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

To the Members of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow Workers:—As your delegates to the Twenty-eighth Congress of the British Trades Unions, held at Cardiff, Wales, September 2d—7th, 1895, it becomes our pleasant duty to submit this our report:

#### MEASURES DISCUSSED.

In order that you may have a fair conception of the work of the Congress we here give the different topics discussed by the Delegates. The unemployed—co-operation—working hours for boys—federation of trades—eight hours workday—employers' liability for injuries to employes—abolition of the House of Lords (second legislative chamber)—amending law relative to conspiracy and breaches of the peace in labor disputes—to remove civil disabilities from recipients of public relief—factory legislation—payment of salaries to Members of Parliament—against pauper aliens landing—payment of salaries to members of county councils—representation of labor in all legislative bodies, national or local—prohibiting "over time"—fair wages and eight hours on government work—the government to publish a list of contractors in the *Labor Gazette*—the government to have its printing done in establishments paying union rates and giving union conditions—early closing of stores—legalizing merchandise marks (union labels)—laws relating to checkweighmen to be extended to the iron and steel industries protesting against the German Emperor's repressive measures against the workers of that country—against piece-work—for the appointment of a commission royalty rents and rates on railroads—for the government ownership of land, minerals and railroads—to secure compensation to men injured in foreign ships in British ports—special scale of compensation for all persons injured or killed while engaged in dangerous buildings—for certificate of practical fitness for persons in charge of steam boilers or engines—requiring ships' carpenters going to sea shall pass proper examination—semi-annual examination of steam boilers—for holes in vessels 'tween decks to allow escape of firemen and others in case of fainting, fire, explosion or collision at sea—for railroad inspectors—for compulsory sale of land when necessary to open up industry—municipalization of all docks and wharves—prohibiting labor from Saturday noon until Monday morning—for compulsory workshop accommodation—against sweat shop system—making it an offense for employers to bring workmen into districts already well supplied—to purge the co-operative movement of those who seek to bring it to the level of the capitalist sweater—for a better system of public schools and education—eight hours workday for miners and bakers—protesting against the continuance of capital punishment—demanding the full right of organizing for government employes—prohibition of child labor under fourteen years and of "night work" for all under eighteen years of age—prohibiting loads over six tons for teams consisting of two horses—demanding that workers who die while following their employment, their relatives or trade union officials shall have the right to representation at coroner's inquest—demanding that "contracting out" of the anti-truck system law shall be unlawful—that trade union rates of wages shall be paid to government employes—that all legislation relative to labor shall apply equally to both sexes—that labor shall have first lien for wages—that employers be held responsible for loss of tools lost by fire on their premises—that the baking trade be classed under the schedule of "unhealthy trade" requiring special sanitary regulation and supervision.

There were many other questions proposed and discussed, but which for one reason or another were not adopted.

#### POLICY OF THE CONGRESS.

At several of our conventions the attitude of the British trade unions has been frequently quoted as an inducement for us to follow in their lines of policy. In no instance has this been more ingeniously utilized than by those who sought to engraft the declaration in favor of collectivism on our organization. Following out this mode of citation we would call your attention to a resolution offered by the delegate who was the author of the collectivist resolution adopted at the previous congress at Norwich. The resolution he offered at Cardiff reads:

That agreeing with the remarks of the Parliamentary Committee respecting the unemployed problem, we regret that during the past year they have taken no steps on the mandate given to them by the Congress of 1894, viz., to promote and support legislation in favor of the *nationalization of the land and means of production*, and which, in the opinion of this congress, was the

only real solution of the ever-recurring problem of men, women and children starving in a land of plenty."

The vote on the resolution was: For, 186,000, against, 607,000. It was thus defeated by a majority of 411,000.

Thus the proposition of the collectivist principle failed of endorsement by an overwhelming adverse vote.

In view of the change of sentiment within a year upon such a vital issue we believed it our duty to make inquiry as to its cause. We soon learned that under the system of representation of organizations and voting power of delegates to the congresses the gravest misrepresentation of the membership was possible and occurred.

In the first place each delegate to the congress had but one vote regardless of the membership represented, and since the larger organizations never could send their full quota of delegates by reason of the great expense involved, and as the smaller organizations were for some reason or another always fully represented, it can be easily appreciated how practically a minority view could prevail. This method of representation and voting power was changed at the Cardiff Congress, practically upon the equitable basis prevailing in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor; i. e., each delegate now casts one vote for every member represented.

A further reason for the apparently changed sentiments is found in this fact. Many delegates at the Norwich Congress voted in favor of the collectivist resolution, believing, as they declared to us, that would do no harm to the trade union movement, that it would satisfy the radical elements in the movement, and that all would thereafter act in harmony. It was found that after the close of that congress those who had secured the passage of the resolution, proclaimed that the adoption of the resolution carried with it the declaration that the trade unions were old and effete institutions, that their methods and tactics to secure better conditions for the workers were thereafter to be eschewed and new lines, that of building a political party founded upon socialistic theories, was to be the principal work of the trade unions. When the trade unionist realized the full extent of the purpose of the resolution, they determined upon some course to demonstrate their true sentiments and belief.

It is but proper that we should also report to you that in conference with a number of delegates, they candidly admitted that the adoption of the collectivist resolution at Norwich was a mistake, but that "it would not do to acknowledge it to the world."

#### POLITICAL ACTION.

We would also call your attention to the adoption of the following at the Cardiff Congress: "That this congress endorses the principle of independent labor representation upon all local and government administrative bodies but would leave the power of selection in the hands of the constituencies, and where it is found advisable in the interest of the working classes. *This Congress is prepared to support candidates who are adopted by and receiving support from the political parties—either liberal, conservative, nationalist or unionist*, that in furtherance of this object, this congress instructs the parliamentary to use its influence in urging upon the government, the necessity of appointing workmen upon the borough and county magisterial benches."

In reporting this matter fully to you, we do not wish to have it inferred that we took sides with either view. We have observed in our conventions and our movement, a worthy desire by all to learn the lessons taught by our British fellow trade unionists, all have pointed out their declarations and actions, and all have urged that so far as our own economic, politic and social conditions would admit that we follow them. In the interest of our movement, this matter should be fully understood.

In many industries of Great Britain, the workers are employed regularly a lesser number of hours than our workers in the same trades. From what we have learned, however, the so-called "over-time" is a greater general evil than exists among us; although great efforts are now being made to lessen it, and hopes are entertained that in the near future, except in great emergencies, to entirely abolish it.

In the matter of congress we found that its make up is much like our conventions. There are two features however which materially differ, one of which we can adopt with advantage, the other we think unpractical. In the congress very little if any new matter is brought up for discussion and action; other than such propositions which have been duly forwarded to the executive office at least six weeks before the meeting of the congress. These propositions are sent to all the organizations affiliated, which, if they desire, may forward amendments within four weeks of the congress. These propositions and amendments are sent to the delegates-elect two weeks before the meeting. We are aware that our Federation has adopted a similar measure, but we are of the opinion that until it is more generally accepted that new matter or measures which have not been regularly proposed and submitted before our conventions, we may be likely to have resolutions adopted for which there is insufficient time for consideration, as well as consultation with the rank and file of our membership.

The other feature to which we refer is the one which practically requires the congress to have as chairman a man recommended by the central body of the locality in which the congress is held. In our judgment the presiding officer of an important gathering such as the conventions of the trade unions of the United States or Great Britain should as with us be a responsible officer.

#### OUR RECEPTION.

At the time set apart for that purpose we were introduced to the congress with great warmth and cordiality of expression and demonstration. In addressing the men and women there assembled we felt as if we were standing upon ground consecrated by ages of suffering, self-sacrificing and devoted men. That we were facing and were surrounded by men and women who would stand or fall for the right; who would rescue the child from the factory, the mill or the

mine and enoble them through the influence of the school room and the playground; whose every word and act sought the full enfranchisement and emancipation of the wealth producer, the attainment of the day when "man's inhumanity to man" shall be a question relegated to the barbaric practices of the past.

In our addresses we not only conveyed to our fellow unionists the fraternal greetings of their American brothers and sisters of labor, we reviewed the conditions prevailing among us, and the obstacles which stand in our way and which we hope and strive to overcome. We endeavored to represent the sentiments of our entire membership, reviewing the past, presenting the present and declaring our hopes and aspirations for the future.

It would be false modesty did we not mention that our remarks were received with enthusiastic fervor, hearty responses and fraternal good wishes. At the conclusion of our speeches, we were each presented with a medallion.

The week before the opening of the congress we went to Manchester, Liverpool and Dublin. At each place meetings of the Trades Councils were previously arranged for, and we gleaned much which we regard as material information as to the prevailing conditions. Of course it is impossible, as it might be inappropriate to refer to many matters in this report, and for which we anticipate reporting in another way, but it is our manifest duty to say that the experience of our own workers is in line with that of our British trades unionists; that the unions based on low dues have been of but comparatively little benefit to the workers; that their membership has fluctuated, and many of them formerly the boast of the so-called "New Trades' Unionism," are but skeletons of their former existence.

#### CONSISTENT ACTION.

In our visit to Dublin we learned of an incident in the career of the Trades' Council of that city, which is not only noteworthy for the consistency of the trades unionists, but is also a tribute to the recognition of the principle that the labor movement in its essence is a class struggle in the interests of humanity. The incident to which we refer occurred a few years ago when the feeling and excitement ran high among Irishmen, each allying himself with the "Parnell" or "Anti-Parnell" wing of the Irish National movement. Each wing insisted that the Trades' Council declare for its side of the bitter controversy. Despite the fact that every delegate was an ardent devotee to Ireland's cause, and an active disputant on the mooted question, the Trades' Council, as a council, decided that it would remain neutral. As a result, we found the trades' unionists in Dublin as near a unit in spirit and action, as we have in any city on our travels.

#### FREE SPEECH.

Nor is it amiss to state that in every part of Great Britain we were most pleasantly surprised to observe the enjoyment and full exercise of the absolute right of free public assemblage and free speech. It is general in every city and town to hold public meetings particularly on Sunday afternoon, in the public parks or public squares. In the former any convenient article which will elevate the speaker above the heads of his hearers is utilized, while in the squares the pedestals of monuments are used as platforms. On several occasions we observed men on the four sides of the pedestal were addressing different assemblages upon as many widely differing topics. The police in attendance aided in maintaining order and supported the platform rather than the reverse which we have with regret too frequently observed in our own country in the past few years.

#### TRIP ON THE CONTINENT.

Taking advantage of the time which was at our disposal by reason of our inability to secure return passage earlier we visited Paris, France; Hamburg, Germany; and Amsterdam, Holland; and were amply rewarded by much valuable information gathered, which we also hope to lay before our workers at another time, but we refer to the visit for the purpose of making known to you a few matters which should be reported here.

In Paris the Bourse du Travail (the central body of organized labor,) the Typographical Union and the delegates who visited this country during the World's fair of 1893, arranged meetings upon three successive evenings. From many of the addresses and conversations with the workers we learned that an earnest effort is being made to thoroughly organize the workers in trade unions. The fraternal greetings and cordial receptions accorded us were of the most gratifying character.

In Hamburg we had a "conference" with the executive officers of the German trades union movement as well as a large number of representative organized workers. While the trade union movement in Germany is slowly forging ahead we find that it suffers much from being deprived by the government of the full right of organization. We also find that the trade union movement has been subordinated by the political party to which the workmen of that country chiefly belong. Hence through this repressive power of the government on the one hand, and the political party domination on the other, the difficulty for the growth and development of the trade unions in Germany can be appreciated.

It is with pleasure we report that the Cardiff congress resolved to send a delegation to our convention and we are heartily proud to accord a hearty welcome to the two sturdy trade unionists who are with us today expressing the inarticulate yearning of the toilers for a better and a nobler conception of human rights and human justice.

#### CONCLUSION.

In conclusion we beg to attest our sincere appreciation of the many courtesies extended to us by all with whom we had the pleasure to come in contact, and who as cheerfully aided us to make the work connected with our trip so pleasant, and, we hope, successful; and to return thanks to the American Federation of Labor for the mark of respect and confidence in entrusting us with the mandate of America's organized workers to our brothers and sisters of the "old world." Earnestly expressing the hope that we have been in some measure instrumental in attaining the goal for which the whole past of the human family has been but one continuous and preparatory struggle, the establishment of the Brotherhood of Man. We remain,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
P. J. MCGUIRE.

Delegate Lennon moved that report be received and spread upon the minutes. Adopted.

Delegate Lennon moved that we hear at 3:30

this afternoon from our English delegates. Adopted.

Delegate Barter moved that we adjourn until 3 o'clock. Carried.

## FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order at 3. Delegate Tracey moved that smoking be prohibited while women were present. Carried.

Delegate Higgins moved to dispense with roll call. Carried.

President McBride stated the fraternal delegates of the National Women's Christian Temperance Union were present and if it was the pleasure of the convention he would introduce them.

Mary T. Burt then addressed the convention at length, saying she brought the greeting of their president, Francis Willard, who sent us godspeed in our work, which had much sympathy with theirs—temperance, purity, equality and fraternity. We also stood for equal wages for equal work regardless of sex, and the placing of woman on the same footing as man, not as a policy, but as a right. She realized the importance of our work in the industrial field whose inventions were the wonder of Europe. She was also glad we had voted against the death penalty the day previous, as no one had a right to take a life. She did not believe the workers of this state of New York were in favor of Sunday saloons; the charge was unjust.

Mrs. J. H. Stoukenberger, who represented the labor features of the temperance movement, then spoke to the delegates. The labor question was that of the world. The realism of our time is opening our eyes to the facts of our civilization, the greed for wealth, and the destitution of the poor. If man were made in the image of God he ought to be able to maintain a condition worthy of that image; must have better conditions, dwellings, homes and wages, culture, recognition of manhood. We would never secure better homes until we had better knowledge of home conditions. Temperance and labor reform are so closely entwined, they must work together. Courage and sacrifice were needed.

Moved that the address be printed in the *Federationist*. Carried.

The delegates from the British Trade Union Congress were then introduced.

Edward Cowey addressed the delegates at considerable length. Before he proceeded, he desired to say that he had just received very good news from the old country. Over 90,000 workmen had been locked out, on the Clyde, in Scotland, in the shipbuilding trade. The builders had determined to crush out their organization. They had failed. The men had won, and would secure an advance now and in February next. Since he had come here, he had heard much praise of trade unionism, which was hardly necessary, and he had wondered if he had gone back to the days of his infancy. Their union was organized in 1820. In 1842, they had got a law preventing children from working in mines. The noble lords had said the boys were healthy enough to work in mines; but their trade unions thought different. The miners of Great Britain were thorough sound-at-bottom trade unionists, and had derived so many benefits, they would not think of leaving their old beaten track of trade unions to get on any new one. They had struck out the old doctrines that prices should rule wages, whether men should live or die, and substituted a new, that wages should govern prices, should be the first cost of production before dividends were declared. They had raised wages forty per cent in two years above the standard. The capitalists had said we were a commodity, must be bought on the basis of the number seeking work; but if our labor was a commodity we would fix the price, and when refused would put it on the shelf. He knew of no commodity in which the buyer only fixed the price. Yet this was the old doctrine, for fighting which they had threatened the miners with plank beds in prison. Why should not the trader sell for what the worker could give? This put the shoe on the other foot. Under non-union conditions the worker had no voice in the sharing of profits. In closing he thanked the delegates for the courtesies shown. He trusted the fraternal conditions would continue; his wish was that the two English speaking worlds should be united; he was instructed to present an invitation to that effect, so that we could combine on

one common ground against the common enemy, viz., capital.

The address was received with much enthusiasm.

James Mawsley spoke of the pleasure it afforded him to be with us and thoroughly appreciated the many acts of kindness shown. He also hoped to see us represented at the next congress. The International Socialistic Congress had changed its name to the International Socialist Workers and Trades Union Congress and with this alteration the English trade unions decided to take part, and they would be delighted to receive Americans. He did not think the faults of our industrial conditions should be entirely laid to capitalists. If he was a capitalist, he would, no doubt, do the same as they, and blaming their wickedness and praising our virtues would never get to the bottom. The workers of the world were kept down simply because they did not recognize the business end of the situation. There was too much expected for nothing, for love and sympathy. If we are to progress, it must be done on business lines and not on sentimental. If we wanted to be on an equality with the capitalist, we must pay the price. They had raised their dues from sixpence to one and ninepence per week, equivalent to forty-two cents. They were thus enabled to fight. In one struggle their union had spent 167,000 pounds, and modified a reduction of ten per cent to two and one-half. Since then no one had ever ventured to even chirp about reducing wages in the cotton spinning trade. He did not count on political freedom when not supported by the business organizations. In the south they had political freedom, but they had no organizations, and hence worked from 52 to 66 hours per week. Referring to State Socialism he said they had some disagreement between men of that faith and the trade unionist, but not so intensified as here. He appreciated the remarks of Delegate Weismann at Cooper Union that there were as good socialists on the platform as off. We all agree as to ultimate desires. The socialist says he wants all he produces, and all say likewise. The question is, how to get it? Why should they disagree? Let us all work in the same camp; the best system will evolve. Let us not call each other names so long as our duty is done manfully; let us reserve our opprobrious epithets for our enemies. If the socialists accomplish most, there will be a gradual movement in that direction, or *vice versa*. If we wrangle over it, the capitalist laughs.

The address was well received and frequently interrupted with show of approval.

Delegate O'Sullivan said he had a circular which was distributed throughout the hall, but which did not bear the printer's union label. He desired the convention to go on record against this practice, that no more such be received by this convention.

The chair said a resolution should be presented to the committee on law to that effect.

The credentials committee asked that the delegate from the Progressive Musical Union, and others interested, meet in the committee room.

The special committee on the Chicago central body reported as follows:

Your committee appointed to consider the matter of the differences between the trade and labor assembly and the labor congress of Chicago, after a careful consideration of the correspondence in the case, beg leave to report as follows:

First—That the request of the trade and labor congress contained in its letter of December 5, 1895, to this convention, be not complied with.

Second—That the following request of the Chicago trade and labor assembly, namely, that the incoming executive council of the A. F. of L. send two of its members to Chicago within three months to call together representatives of all the trade unions of that city and vicinity, for the purpose of reorganizing the trade and labor assembly on a foundation of harmony, be complied with.

J. H. WIDOWFIELD,  
FRANK W. LEE,  
F. MCCARTHY,  
A. FURUSETH,  
ROBERT ASHE.

Delegate O'Connell moved to concur.

Delegate Barnes moved that Charles Dold, a representative of the labor congress be given the privilege of the floor.

Delegate Pomeroy was opposed to this amendment. Mr. Dold had opportunity, but did not appear before the committee. The proposition of the Trade and Labor assembly was a good one, and requires no lengthy discussion. It recognizes that conditions are bad and liable to get worse. Why thrash out the subject here without profit and much to the disgust of some of our members. It would not be conducive to harmony; but would rather widen the breach. If Mr. Dold spoke it would do no good here or in Chicago. Let Chicago settle its own affairs in Chicago, under supervision of the Executive Council.

Delegate Jacobs saw no good reason for preventing Mr. Dold from speaking. This was the place to thrash it out. We want to show the A. F. of L. members the facts. We had allowed others to speak, and why not Mr. Dold. All they asked was fair play to be heard.

Delegate Ashe said the Federation had no jurisdiction over the organization which Mr. Dold represented. He thought the proposition of the Trades Assembly a good one.

Delegate O'Sullivan objected to granting permission to Mr. Dold. The committee was appointed to investigate and report; he was content to abide by its decision.

Delegate Reichers moved that the report be referred back to the committee, and Messrs. Dold and Pomeroy be requested to appear.

Delegate O'Connell thought that it was strange that the parties who came all the way from Chicago on this case specially should not have appeared before the committee. He was opposed to delay in this matter. His organization Chicago had held aloof. They had 17 lodges with 1,800 members ready to go in when this matter was settled, and help purify the movement. It was the trade unionists of Chicago they wanted to get together, not the dissatisfied element who are disrupting the movement.

Delegate Barnes asked if it was unfair to allow Mr. Dold ten minutes when he had not been notified of the committee meeting. There seemed to be some fear that there would be something exposed. It was the right of the convention to know the facts and the methods pursued by some of our locals. The fear that Mr. Dold might say things unpleasant, must not deter us. He alluded to a circular which was distributed over the hall, and which done an injustice. It used strong language that called for a hearing from the other side. It was said there would be no harmony in Chicago unless harmony was here. If that harmony was to be obtained by suppression it was not harmony to be desired. He would move that further consideration be postponed until tomorrow morning when in executive session Mr. Dold could be heard. Seconded by Delegate Jacobs.

Delegate Barnes asked if documents had been read from both sides.

Delegate Furuseth stated two letters had been read, one from each side, and a resolution from the convention. He thought the report should be adopted.

Delegate Barnes moved, as a substitute for the whole, that further consideration be deferred until tomorrow.

Delegate Lee saw nothing to be accomplished in deferring action.

Delegate Elderkin was in favor of the report; had no dirty linen to wash; did not want to see the proposition to get together de-

feated; he did not believe in upholding secession movements or dual organization.

The substitute was lost.

The motion to refer back was lost.

The motion to admit Mr. Dold was lost.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate O'Sullivan asked for a suspension of the rules to offer a resolution protesting against the absence of printers' label on documents which were distributed in hall.

Delegate Lennon moved to suspend reports of committees, and take up admission of resolutions.

No. 78. By Delegate Reichers. On raising boycott on Hacket, Carhart & Co. Referred to committee on boycotts.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that hereafter the distribution of printed matter be prohibited at these conventions unless such printed matter bears the label of the typographical crafts. Adopted.

No. 79. By Delegate O'Sullivan. To appropriate money to organize the textile workers of the south. Referred to committee on organization.

No. 80. By the same. In regard to changing pledge of federal unions. Referred to committee on laws.

No. 81. By Delegate Furuseth. Asking congress to speedily pass certain bills introduced by Judge Maguire. Referred to committee on resolutions.

No. 82. By Delegate Kurzenknebe. Endorsing boycott on Bergner & Engel Brewing Co. of Philadelphia. Referred to committee on boycott.

No. 83. By the same. To improve condition of malthouse employees. Referred to committee on boycotts.

No. 84. By Delegate Pomeroy. On the *Federationist*. Referred to a special committee.

No. 85. By the same. On taxation. Referred to committee on laws.

No. 86. By Delegate Lee. Sympathizing with the Cubans and poor and oppressed of all nations. Committee on resolutions.

No. 87. By Delegate Marks. On illegal immigration. Referred to committee on resolutions.

No. 88. By Delegate Elderkin. On direct legislation. Referred to committee on resolutions.

No. 89. By Delegate Dernel. To reaffirm boycott on S. Ottenberg & Bros.' cigars. Referred to committee on boycotts.

No. 90. By Delegate Usher. Protesting against change of name of the charter to the Brotherhood of Brassworkers.

No. 91. By Delegate Kenehan. Recommending the establishment of institutes for the broader education of mechanics. Referred to committee on resolutions.

No. 92. By Delegate Lennon. On protective tariff laws demanded for protection of custom tailors. Referred to committee on resolutions.

No. 93. By Delegate Duncan. On A. F. of L. assisting to reorganize the Granite Cutters' Union. Referred to committee on organization.

No. 94. By Delegate Linchan. Pledging support to carpenters for shorter work day. Referred to committee on eight-hour day.

Delegate Eaton asked if Executive Council could pass on boycott, and chair replied it could, and that all boycotts must be presented thereto.

No. 95. By Delegate Weismann. To reaffirm position of Chicago convention to improve sanitary condition of bake shops. Referred to committee on resolutions.

No. 96. By Delegate O'Sullivan. On abolition of padrone system. Referred to committee on resolutions.

No. 97. By Delegate Reichers. In regard to credentials of Jos. Krinks, of Progressive Musicians' Union. Referred to committee on credentials.

No. 98. By Delegate Barnes. On organization and maintenance of a political party. Referred to committee on resolutions.

The committee on resolutions reported as follows:

By committee: Believing that the workers are entitled to the rest of one day in seven, we desire to enter our emphatic protest against any legislation, state or otherwise, which tends to open the way for a violation of this principle. Adopted.

By Henry Weismann, Bakers' and Confectioners National Union:

RESOLVED, That we reiterate the protest against the present disgraceful and dangerous method under which the great majority of the bakeries of this country are being operated, and we demand, both in the interest of the millions of bread consumers as well as the producers, that the legislatures of our states and the municipalities of our cities enact legislation for the inspection and the regulation of labor in these shops.

RESOLVED, Further, that we heartily endorse the achievements of the bakers of New York state in securing the passage of a bakery inspection law, and that we appeal to our members and affiliated locals to assist the bakers of the states of New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Illi-

nois, Missouri, Michigan and Colorado, in their present efforts to obtain similar legislation.

Committee recommended adoption. Approved.

The committee recommended that a resolution by Delegate Weismann be referred to that committee.

By Delegate Duncan:

WHEREAS, The "great emergency" clause in the congressional eight-hour law of 1885 is being abused to the detriment of the shorter work day; and

WHEREAS, The same law is being grossly violated in general principle in that the present and past Presidents of the United States and the last two Attorney-Generals have construed the law to mean that it only covered work done for the government at the place where the production was to be used; therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming executive council cause to have prepared and introduced into congress immediately an amendment to the existing eight-hour law providing that all work included in the bill be done at not more than eight hours' work in any twenty-four hours, and wherever the work may be done; also that such amendment shall define the nature of a "great emergency," as used in the bill.

Committee recommended adoption. Approved.

By International Typographical Union delegation:

RESOLVED, That this convention reiterates its demand for the government ownership of the telegraph lines of this country, and the officers of this Federation are hereby ordered to heartily assist the effort of the International Typographical Union to attain this end.

Committee recommended adoption. Approved.

By Delegate Ashe:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council at once call the attention of the War Department, at Washington, to the fact that the eight-hour law is being violated by the Phoenix Bridge Co., in the government arsenal at Rock Island, Ill., on a government contract now being executed at that place.

Committee recommended adoption. Approved.

Delegate O'Connell stated he had just received a telegram that the Phoenix Bridge Co. was working ten hours on government bridge at Rock Island, Ill.

By Delegate Ashe:

WHEREAS, Written constitutions for a state or nation are not essential to the fullest exercise and enjoyment of liberty by the people, and

WHEREAS, Under the binding force of such constitution, laws enacted by the representatives of the people for the public good have been frequently declared void by judges of state and federal courts. Therefore,

RESOLVED, That, in the opinion of the convention, all written constitutions ought to be abolished. As no constitution can be, in the nature of things, superior to the expressed will of the people when enacted into law.

The committee offered the following substitute:

WHEREAS, Present judicial and other governmental evils are due, not to the constitution of the United States, but in violation of its provisions,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare its unswerving allegiance to

the constitution of the United States and insist upon its enforcement as to letter and spirit.

Delegate Ashe opposed the substitute.

Delegate Lennon moved that the whole matter lie on the table. Adopted, 37 to 19.

Adjourned at 5:25.

## FIFTH DAY—Morning Session.

Friday, December 13, 1895.

Convention called to order at 9:30.

Roll call ordered.

Present—Sidener, Weismann, Klapetzky, Kurzenkabe, Bechtold, Lynch, Plumb, Rowland, Jacobs, Jacobson, Duncan, Kenehan, Valentine, Garland, Keefe, O'Connell, Creamer, Ashe, Sullivan, Diehl, Dennis, Furuseth, Elderkin, Howard, Lennon, Blick, Ryan, White, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Polard, Junio, Parsons, Duffy, McCarthy, Rist, Perkins, Kennedy, McGill, Benedict, Braunschweiger, Boehm, McCallum, Wieman, Lee, Maily, Barter, Pomeroy, Kreyling, Anderson, Lanigan, Simpson, McCulloch, Kelly, O'Sullivan, Dummett, Penning, Clark, Costello, Mullen, Miller, Drasch, McGean, Barnes, Albers, Neuroth, Dernel.

Absent—Tobin, Eaton, J. Pearce, McGuire, Linehan, Weiss, Reichers, Widdowfield, Keough, Poble, Usher, Penna, McBryde, W. C. Pearce, Gelson, Mahon, Tracy, Lawrence, J. Gompers, Marks, Nicol, Hollister, Svindseth, McCambridge, Murphy, Mulcare, Samuel Gompers.

Delegate Lennon moved that committee on resolutions be instructed to draft suitable resolutions on the death of the Hon. Allen G. Thurman. Adopted.

Moved that reading of minutes be dispensed with. Carried.

Delegate Lynch asked for unanimous consent to introduce a resolution on the Brassworkers' trouble. Consent given. Referred to committee on organization.

Committee on resolutions reported favorably on the following:

WHEREAS, Organized labor of the state of New York has, after a struggle of nearly thirty years, succeeded in having incorporated into the fundamental laws of the state a provision known as Section 29, Article 3, which prohibits the employment of convicts on any work other than of producing supplies necessary to the use of the public institutions of the state, owned and managed and controlled by the state, or any political division thereof, and

WHEREAS, The legislature of 1894 has proposed and passed a joint resolution amending said section 29, to submit to the people a proposition, which, if adopted, will virtually restore the old system of prison or convict labor in all its most objectionable features; and

WHEREAS, According to the provisions of the Constitution, it becomes necessary that the said joint resolution must receive the approval of the incoming legislature before it can properly be submitted to a vote of the people of the state; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls the attention of all the labor organizations and friends of labor in the state of New York to the great injustice that will be done to the free labor of the state by the adoption of the proposed amendment to the constitution, and we urge upon them the necessity of using every honorable effort to prevent the adoption by the incoming legislature of said joint resolutions passed by the legislature of 1894, and in case of failure to accomplish this, they should make an organized effort to defeat the proposed amendment at the ballot box.

Delegate Junio spoke at length advocating the adoption of the report of the committee. Adopted.

WHEREAS, The miserable condition of the wageworkers employed in the hotel and restaurant business is doubly increased by a system of employment agencies located in saloons, whose proprietors operate on the padrone system of human slavery, more familiarly known to men of our craft as "the vampire system."

RESOLVED, That all delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor be requested to aid in the abolition of the nefarious vampire system.

Delegate Pomeroy hoped we would adopt the motion. Carried.

Delegate Reichers moved we elect officers tomorrow at 3.

Delegate Bramwood moved to substitute "today" for "tomorrow."

Delegate Neuroth moved to defer until committees on officers reports were heard.

Delegate Weismann asked to include report of Executive Council.

Delegate Bramwood could not see the need of delay. The reports had been distributed some days ago. We should dispose of election and get down to business. There was too much wire-pulling.

Delegate Penna thought it necessary to receive reports from officers. Would offer as a



substitute that we make election of officers first order after said reports.

Delegate Junio objected to the charge of wire-pulling used by a previous speaker.

Delegate Lennon opposed deferring and favored original motion.

Delegates Reichers and O'Sullivan pressed the original motion.

The motion to defer was lost; to substitute "today" for "tomorrow" was lost and to elect officers at three o'clock tomorrow was adopted.

The committee on labels and boycotts reported favorably upon the following:

By Henry Weismann, Bakers and Confectioners International Union:

WHEREAS, The condition of the majority of the bakeshops of this country defies all laws of public health, humanity and common decency; and

WHEREAS, They are largely due to the long hours of labor, low wages and the bad treatment of the bake shop employees and also to the unsanitary work rooms; and

WHEREAS, The only safeguard for the public, the bread consumers, as well as the operatives, lies in the establishment of a system of shorter hours and better wages for the men; and

WHEREAS, The union label on the bread produced under union conditions is the only assurance of the sanitation and the humane operation of the bakeshops, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention impress upon the members of the Federation and the public at large the urgency of extending the patronage of the label of the Bakers' International Union. Adopted.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We petition your honorable body to officially recognize our badge, described as follows:

Representing in prospective a canvasser's box-like sample case, on which design appears the monogram "A.A.A." interwoven with the full name spelled out in full in small black face script letters (American Agents Association.) Same to be on a lapel button.

We also request that through the *Federalists* all organizers for the A. F. of L. be asked to communicate with the undersigned with a view of organizing the canvassing agents in their respective communities.

C. H. SIDENER,

President American Agents Association.

The committee reported favorably. Adopted.

By Delegate John White, Tobacco Workers:

WHEREAS, The National Tobacco Workers' Union of America has adopted a union label, the color being dark "blue," which is used in two sizes: the large size for boxes, pails, etc., and the small size for small packages, and

WHEREAS, This label has been adopted for the protection of the tobacco workers against unfair labor, and for the purpose of enabling union men and the friends of organized labor to distinguish the brands of tobacco made by union labor from that produced by non-union, and

WHEREAS, The above mentioned label has received the endorsement of numerous local, central and national labor organizations throughout the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, give its endorsement to the National Tobacco Workers' Union Label, and pledge it their moral support; be it further

RESOLVED, That all members of the American Federation of Labor when purchasing tobacco or cigarettes, demand goods bearing the union label.

The committee reported favorably. Adopted.

By Delegate Jacobs:

RESOLVED, We reaffirm the boycott against Clement, Bane & Co., and Daub, Cohn & Co., of Chicago, Ill., and delegates to be instructed that when they return to their homes to exert all in their power to assist the United Garment Workers of America.

The committee reported favorably. Adopted.

Henry Weismann, Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Brockton, Mass., an organization holding a charter from the American Federation of Labor, is composed partly of seceders and expelled members of the Bakers' International Union, and in open antagonism to the latter, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the Brockton Central Labor Union to at once suspend all organizations not affiliated with the national union of their trade, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the failure of the Brockton C. L. U. to comply with the law governing such matters, it shall be at once ordered to return its charter.

Delegate Weismann hoped report would be endorsed and that the Massachusetts delegates would use their endeavors to bring the central union of Brockton into line.

Delegate Tracey said the state branch would do all in its power to bring about good results, and would conform to the law in any event.

Delegate Tobin thought it ought to be left to state branch.

Delegate Lennon thought the subject ought to be dealt with generally, without referring to anyone in particular.

Delegate Weismann quoted the law governing the case.

Delegate Klapetzky favored the motion, had written twenty letters to this organization and could get no answer, had a local of non-affiliated barbers on its roll.

The report was adopted.

The Committee on Local and Federated trades reported favorably upon the following:

By Delegate Neuroth:

WHEREAS, Experience has taught us that the savings of working people deposited in

the various institutions established for that purpose, are subject to the caprices of unscrupulous dealers in questionable securities, and

WHEREAS, We believe such savings should be at all times available, and

WHEREAS, We believe it to be the duty of our national government to give the people relief and provide a repository for such funds, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, be and is hereby instructed to urge upon Congress the necessity of establishing savings institutions in connection with the post office department.

The Secretary opposed the resolution as tending to increase governmental functions to the detriment of the individual.

Delegates Neuroth, Bramwood, McCambridge and Diehl spoke in favor of the motion.

Delegate Lennon desired to go on record as against the proposition. We had too much legislation now. The less fences we build around us the more freedom we would have.

Delegate McBryde was in favor of the resolution.

Delegate Pomeroy presumed everyone was opposed to the national banks, but we were also opposed to government banks. Because one was bad, it did not follow the other was good. He had not yet learned the necessity of governmental interference.

Delegate Weismann spoke in favor of co-operative banking.

Delegate Ashe said postal banks were not a theory or fad, yet he recognized the difficulty of judicial decisions.

Delegate Duffy thought there ought to be some method whereby the savings of the workers should be protected; there was too much law and not enough justice. He hoped the report would be adopted.

Delegate Neuroth said, if we had lived in Colorado, we would have recognized the necessity for such a provision.

Delegate Elderkin was opposed to the motion. The national banks were bad; but the same people would make the laws, and we would get the same treatment.

Delegate Lennon offered the following substitute:

RESOLVED, By the A. F. of L. that we declare ourselves as absolutely opposed to the present banking system of the United States, which enables bankers to destroy at their will the prosperity of the country by manipulation of the money of the nation.

Delegate Garland thought the substitute unsatisfactory.

Delegate Lee favored the original motion.

Delegates Penna and McBryde opposed the substitute.

Delegate Pomeroy asked the name of the particular banking syndicate that is the receiver of the United States Government, and Delegate Penna answered the Morgan-Belmont syndicate.

Delegate McCambridge moved to lay on the table.

Lost.

Delegate Weismann offered the following substitute:

RESOLVED, That this Convention protests against the present system of banking through the national banks of our federal government, as opposed to the interest of the masses of the people, and a means in the hands of the money power to perpetuate its supremacy and to exercise its corrupting influences upon the politics of our country.

RESOLVED, That we recommend as a solution of the problem, of placing the people's savings in reliable hands, and as a means to successfully combat the present paternal system of national banks, a system of mutual banking by the people on lines of voluntary co-operation.

The Chair ruled a second substitute was not in order.

Previous question was ordered.

The substitute was defeated and the report adopted.

Delegate Weismann desired to be recorded in favor of the substitute.

Delegate McGuire moved that the newly-elected Secretary be instructed to prepare a code of resolutions passed by former conventions up to the close of this Convention.

Adopted.

A telegram from the Chicago Boot and Shoemakers Union expressed gratification over the result of a conference in that trade was then read.

The President reported that a circular on joint stock labor unions would be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate O'Sullivan asked if the President was sure the document was printed in a union office and he replied affirmatively.

Delegate Pomeroy submitted articles of agreement as a result of the conference on Chicago Central Bodies as follows:

The following minutes contain the articles of agreement, whereby the representatives of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly and the Chicago Labor Congress agree to adjust the difficulties now existing between their respective organizations.

First—There shall be but one general central body, the same to be known as the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly and its present charter continued.

Second—A new constitution shall be adopted and a new election of officers occur, and said

constitution shall contain the following: The following shall be ineligible as delegates:

First—All employers.

Second—All persons not working at their trade;

Third—All persons holding political positions

PROVIDED, This shall not be so construed as to include salaried officers of any union whose official duties require not less than eight hours per day.

In the absence of delegates the chairman of the delegates shall be entitled to cast full vote of his organization on all questions.

Should the Chicago Labor Congress refuse to ratify this agreement the resolution hereto attached shall go into effect as provided and the charter remain with the Trades and Labor Assembly.

Should the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly refuse to ratify this agreement the attached resolution shall go into effect and the charter of affiliation be granted to the Chicago Labor Congress.

Should the Trades and Labor Assembly of Chicago and the Chicago Labor Congress both refuse to ratify this agreement then the Executive Board is hereby instructed to proceed within three months to organize an affiliated central body and revoke existing charter.

WILLIAM C. POMEROY,

Delegate Trades and Labor Assembly of Chicago.

CHARLES DOLD,

Representative Chicago Labor Congress;

THOMAS ELDERKIN,

President Trade and Labor Assembly;

MAURICE M. JACOBS,

United Garment Workers.

Witness:

P. H. PENNA,

President United Mine Workers;

ROADY KENEHAN,

Gen'l Sec'y Journeymen Horsehoers' Union.

JAMES MCGILL,

Louisville Central Labor Union.

Delegate Duncan thought the matter was settled yesterday.

The President hoped that Mr. Dold would be allowed the privilege of the floor.

Delegate McGuire moved to reconsider action of yesterday in depriving Mr. Dold of the floor.

Delegate Pomeroy desired to be allowed to make that motion as he considered it his right, also, that the A. F. of L. in Convention assembled, approve of this agreement, and to give Mr. Dold the floor to affirm his position on the matter.

Moved that the agreement as read be substituted for the report of Committee of yesterday and that Mr. Dold be given the floor. Carried.

Mr. Dold said: That he came to this Convention as a trades unionist, first, last and always; they extended the olive branch of peace to introduce harmony in Chicago; he was pleased that the matter had been settled.

and would no doubt be ratified unanimously by the Labor Congress.

Delegate Pomeroy moved that Mr. Dold be given a seat as an honorary delegate in this Convention.

Delegate McGuire thought it a dangerous precedent, and moved that he be invited to sit in this Convention.

Carried.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies reported on the following:

By Delegate Lennon.

RESOLVED, That it shall be the duty of all state federations and local central labor organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. to insist that local unions affiliated with them shall, if not attached to the national or international union of their trade, do so within six months from January 1, 1896, or be suspended from said state federations of central labor bodies, and shall remain suspended until they affiliate with their respective general organizations.

Adopted.

Committee on Secretary's report reported partially, reserving the right to report in full later. Partial report being the following:

To the Officers and Delegates:

Gentlemen:—Your Committee on Secretary's Report beg leave to present the following as a result of their efforts.

The report so far as it contained an account of the expenditures and receipts was all that could be desired for clearness and accuracy.

In the matter of the expenditure for the purpose of securing the passage of the Seamens bill in Congress, we find that, while the amount was large, yet for the work done, time and effort expended as well as for the benefits to seamen derived, the appropriation was well justified.

No sooner had the law been passed than a protest went up from every port where the crimping system flourished. Not alone did the crimps and sharks protest, but masters of vessels and ship owners sent protests to their Representatives at Washington. It is difficult to estimate the amount of money saved to our seamen through the passage of the law, and in other respects, the bill was a godsend to these unfortunate seamen of the American merchant marine.

On the matter of organizers, referred to in the report, the committee respectfully recommends the following: That a special department, to be known as the Department of Organizers, be created, and that the Executive Council be directed to make a special annual report on it work in the end that we shall know just what is being accomplished by the A. F. of L. in the way of organizing the unorganized; that monthly report blanks be furnished to the organizers, and they be required to send in the same each month giving among the other matters necessary to report the following:

a. Number of unions organized during the month.

b. Occupations of the members of such unions.

c. Strikes and lockouts in the locality during month.

d. Causes and results of such strikes or lockouts. Benefits secured.

e. If no organizations have been formed, the reason why.

f. Information of service to the Executive Council.

The Committee further recommends that great care be taken in the selection of organizers, and that if they are not advancing the cause of trade unionism, that their commissions be withdrawn.

J. O'SULLIVAN,  
H. M. EATON,  
P. McBRYDE,  
A. FURUSETH,  
J. GELSON.

Adopted.

Committee on Organization reported the following, introduced by Delegates Tobin and Eaton:

WHEREAS, The recent amalgamation of the national organizations of shoe workers heretofore existing, affords the best opportunity of years to build up an organization of that craft that will take front rank in the trade union movement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all organizers of the A. F. of L. are hereby instructed, and all affiliated bodies are hereby requested, to heartily co-operate with the officers of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union in their efforts to organize the 160,000 shoe workers of the United States and Canada.

Carried.

Committee on Organization reported on the following resolution, which they amended to read instead of "to compel" to "to have."

To American Federation of Labor at their 15th Annual Convention at New York City:

We, the undersigned union, wish to have a resolution passed by your body. That all unions and bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L., strive to have all engineers to join organizations which are connected with the A. F. of L. The grounds for this resolution will be explained by our delegate, F. A. Boehme.

Fraternally,  
UNITED STANDARD ENGINEERS,  
5608, A. F. of L.

Delegate Mahon moved to lay on table. Lost.

Delegate Boehme spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Mahone asked to have resolution re-read; he then stated he misunderstood the wording of the resolution, and would withdraw his motion.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that the Executive Council organize the engineers into a national body.

Motion seconded by Delegate Duffy.

Delegate McCambridge spoke in favor of the motion.

Committee report adopted as amended.

Resolution relating to mails on street cars was referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The Committee then reported the following resolutions:

By Delegate McCulloch:

WHEREAS, The core makers of the country are suffering from want of thorough organization, and

WHEREAS, There now exists enough local unions of this craft to form a national union; be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to bring about a national union of this craft as soon as possible.

Adopted.

Committee on Organization reported on Delegate O'Connell's resolution, which follows:

As it is to the interest of labor that all bodies should identify themselves with the American Federation of Labor, so that by so doing they contribute to the strength numerically and financially the labor movement in the United States of America, and

First—It is generally understood that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers does not in any way strengthen the labor movement of this country, inasmuch as they do not identify themselves with the American Federation of Labor, or with Central labor bodies affiliated with the same, and

Second—Not recognizing, morally or financially, the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to raise the status of those who toil, though themselves are reaping a share of the benefits of those efforts, or in other words, reaping what they have not sown, enjoining what they have not purchased; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate with the General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, showing the necessity of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers joining with the American Federation of Labor, and assisting in removing any constitutional hindrances that prevent such action on the part of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Delegate O'Connell said that he would discuss the matter and would move to take a recess.

Adjourned, 12:30.

## FIFTH DAY.—Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order at 2:05.

President Larry of the Housesmiths' Union was then introduced and spoke of what had been accomplished—much more than he had expected; that the trouble of his organization with the Iron League had been satisfactorily settled.

Delegate Lennon stated that the Eight-hour Committee would be ready to report this afternoon.

Report of the Committee on Organization was then resumed.

Delegate O'Connell said, that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers should be brought into harmony with the labor movement, and that they also comprised machinists and blacksmiths. In their constitution is a provision which prohibits members from joining any other organization, on penalty of loss of benefits or expulsion; that it was a strong organization; that we recognize only one machinists' organization, the I. A. of M. We do not ask them to relinquish their rights or organization. He hoped that the Secretary would correspond with them in an endeavor to bring them into the fold.

Report adopted.

Grievance Committee reported progress.

Delegate Duncan in the Chair.

Committee on Resolutions reported unfavorably on the following resolutions of Delegate O'Sullivan:

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention places itself upon record as being emphatically opposed to the carrying of mails on street cars until such times as said cars are owned and managed by the Government.

**RESOLVED**, That the protest of the A. F. of L. be sent to Congress and every effort made to cancel all contracts for carrying mails on street cars.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved to non-concur and spoke at length on the subject, gave a history of the work done for street-car men in Boston; how a mail bag was thrown upon the front platform with the motorman, and he was compelled to take care of it, and any attempt of his to go on strike would invite imprisonment for obstructing the government mail service.

Delegate Ashe desired to substitute "municipal" for "government" ownership.

Delegate McCambridge spoke in favor of the report of the Committee.

Delegate Pomeroy admitted all that was said, that the carrying of mails might be for the purpose of breaking up strikes, but strikes would not be broken up.

Delegate Mahone hoped that we go on record as opposed to the scheme.

Delegate Diehl spoke at length in favor of the motion.

Delegate Furuseth said that the carrying of mails was dangerous, and hoped that the Convention would adopt the report of the Committee, and that we should lend all our energies to stop the practice.

Delegate Bramwood stated that every car on the tramway system of Denver, which owned every car, bore "U. S. Mail," and that only one car may be used to carry the mail, but that it included all.

Motion to non-concur carried.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved to adopt the resolution.

Carried.

By Delegate Lennon:

**WHEREAS**, Under the present tariff laws of the United States millions of dollars worth of custom made clothing is annually brought into the United States free of duty, to the great detriment of custom tailors in the United States; therefore

**RESOLVED**, While the protective tariff policy of our government continues, we demand that the evil recited above be abolished, and to that end the Executive Council be instructed to memorialize Congress, requesting the change in the laws demanded for the protection of the custom tailors of the United States.

Committee report as inexpedient to legislate.

Delegate Lennon stated that fifty million dollars worth of custom-made clothing was brought into this country every year absolutely free of duty in private trunks.

Motion was made to non-concur.

Delegate Linehan thought that we could not pass on this matter without declaring ourselves on the tariff.

Delegate Ashe said that the workers were the principal sufferers under the protective tariff.

The Chair here said that it was advisable to get rid of any discussion on the tariff, as it was a rock upon which the A. F. of L. came near splitting at one time.

Motion to non-concur lost.

The Committee's report was adopted.

The Committee on Credentials reported as follows:

The undersigned, your committee on credentials, having considered the protest of the garment workers against seating the delegate from the Progressive Musical Union has arrived at the following conclusions:

In view of the fact that this organization has flagrantly and persistently violated the principles and constitution of the A. F. of L., in refusing to endorse the boycott levied by the garment workers and endorsed by the A. F. of L., and has done all in their power to offset said boycott, we recommend that the delegate be not seated.

T. J. ELDERKIN,  
T. F. TRACEY,  
J. WHITE,  
D. P. ROWLAND,  
WILLIAM MAILLY,

The Secretary stated that such action practically expelled the organization for refusing to endorse a boycott. While to censure might be in order, he thought expulsion somewhat harsh.

Delegate Reichers dwelt on the organization's refusal to enforce the boycott on Hachet, Carhart & Co., for which action they were expelled from the N. Y. Central Labor Union.

Delegate Mullen also protested against seating the applicant, and stated that the union he represents held a charter from D. A. 49, K. of L.

Delegate Tracey thought they ought to have representation in one or the other only.

The report was adopted.

Committee on Resolutions reported favorably on the following:

By Roady Kenehan:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby directed to encourage a broader education of mechanics by the municipal establishment of institutes, where the young man who is learning a trade can in his leisure hours have the privilege of attending lectures pertaining to his future life work; also that these institutes be furnished with reading rooms and gymnasiums, where he can find healthy and moral amusements; in this way to build up an intelligent and moral citizen, as well as a master in the art of trade.

Adopted.

Henry Weismann, Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union.

RESOLVED, That this Convention reaffirm its position taken in the Chicago Convention for sanitary legislation for bakeshops, and that we heartily endorse the appended resolutions of the bakers of New York State for an improvement and extension of bakeshop legislation.

WHEREAS, The conditions in the great majority of the bakeshops of this state are a menace both to the health of the bread makers, the operative bakers and the great body of bread consumers, the shops being located in

damp and miasma-breeding cellars, totally devoid of the proper safeguards to preserve the cleanliness and wholesomeness of the goods therein produced, and

WHEREAS, The journeymen bakers, owing to their inhuman treatment and excessive hours of labor, can find neither the time nor the means to protect themselves and the bread consumers against the evil results of these conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Legislature of 1895 has recognized the necessity of passing a law for the abolition of the evils in question, a law which, however, in its present form, is inadequate and lacking the means of rigorous and general enforcement; be it therefore

RESOLVED, By the Operative Bakers and their sympathizers, to call upon the governor and the incoming legislature of this state to adopt the following additional provisions to the present bakery inspection law:

1. That hereafter no bakeries shall be constructed in cellars and basements, and that cellar bakeries when once closed shall not be reopened.

2. That in all bakeries now in existence, and to be built hereafter, a sufficient number of air shafts, windows or ventilating pipes shall be built to insure ventilation.

3. That the time for compliance with the law shall be reduced from 60 to 20 days.

4. That dogs and other domestic animals, excepting cats, shall not be tolerated in bakeshops.

5. That the height of a bakeshop shall be 9 feet at least.

6. That the inspectors shall be authorized to inspect the sleeping places of the operatives, if they are on the same premises as the bakery, and shall be empowered to order them cleaned or changed in compliance with sanitary principles.

7. That the inspector be authorized to issue a certificate to bakeries complying with all provisions of the law.

That no employe shall be discharged for having made truthful statements objectionable to his employer, either in court or to an inspector.

9. That four additional inspectors be appointed.

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Governor of this State and the presiding officers of the Senate and the Assembly.

The Committee recommends adoption.

Approved.

The following was presented by Frances Willard, and the committee recommended the substitute appended.

#### THE ALCOHOL PROBLEM.

A no less careful investigator than Darwin wrote: "Through my own experience and that of my father and grandfather, extending over a period of one hundred years, I have come to the conclusion that no other cause is the occasion of so much suffering, sickness and misery as the indulgence in alcoholic drinks. Believing also that it stupefies the brain, renders the laborer more insensible to his situation and robs him of energy and endurance in the constantly growing struggle for the means of a worthy existence;" and therefore

RESOLVED, That by our influence, example and votes we shall oppose the use and the sale of alcoholic drinks.

## SALOONS.

In the interest of our homes and a worthy environment,

RESOLVED, That if saloons are not permitted to adjoin the mansions of the wealthy neither shall they be permitted to intrude upon the wage-earners' precincts.

## SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION.

Inasmuch as we desire for our children the most complete preparation and the fairest start in life, in order that they may be forewarned as well as forearmed against one of the most insidious foes to humanity.

RESOLVED, That we urge the fulfillment of the law requiring scientific temperance instruction in all our schools.

## THE SLUMS.

Inasmuch as the slum district is an insult and outrage upon humanity,

RESOLVED, That the law requiring inspection and condemnation of all dwellings unfit for human habitation shall be enforced.

## SOCIAL PURITY.

Desiring for the boys of this land the truth on this subject and right teaching, we repudiate the insult to manhood in a double standard of morality, believing in a white life for two.

## PERNICIOUS LITERATURE.

In the interest of public morality, and especially to preserve our youth and the children from contamination, we condemn the publication and sale of pernicious literature.

## PHYSICAL CULTURE IN SCHOOLS.

RESOLVED, That since our power and success are so dependent upon the physical basis, that we join those educators in the United States who demand that physical education shall be required by law.

## WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS.

In order to secure to women wage-earners that fair play and even handed justice we seek for ourselves, we shall second their efforts to obtain equal pay for equal work with our own.

FRANCES. E. WILLARD.

In reference to these resolutions referred to your committee, covering a number of questions, we respectfully submit that the American Federation of Labor has time and again declared and reiterated its attitude thereon.

We recognize the evils resulting to all from intemperance, but we deny, even by implication, that the wage workers are the most or even equally guilty of intemperance as compared to the idle classes. It is also demonstrable that the achievements of the trade union movement in the line of reduced hours of burdensome toil, an increase of wages and improved environments, have done more to reduce the evils of intemperance than all efforts from other directions. In the interest of temperance and morality we shall continue in the future even with greater vigor, if that is possible, than in the past, to secure the pre-

quisites, i. e., material improvement, consequent upon more leisure and opportunity.

The same reasons apply equally to "Social Purity," "Pernicious Literature" and "The Slums."

Nor have we merely declared in favor of equal pay for equal work for both sexes, but our organizations have by great struggles and sacrifices secure this result in many instances, and the very existence of our unions is an indefatigable effort in that direction.

Delegate Ashe moved to substitute "wealthy class" for "idle class"

Delegate O'Sullivan moved to make it wealthy and idle.

Lost.

The substitute was then adopted.

Delegate Kelly asked for unanimous consent to introduce a resolution.

Granted and referred to Grievance Committee.

Delegate McCambridge offered a resolution on organizing packing house employes.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Lanigan offered a resolution on organizing bleachers and dyers.

Referred.

Delegate Barter moved that we reconsider the vote to make the eight hour question a special order for Saturday, and that we receive it at this time.

Carried.

Geo. E. McNeil then reported for the eight hour committee. He recommended that Delegate Diehl's resolution regarding violation of eight hour day in governmental departments be referred to Committee on Resolutions.

So ordered.

Also that the same on carpenters' eight hour movement would be covered in the full report.

Delegate Linehan stated they were satisfied with this disposition.

Mr. McNeill then submitted the following: To the President and Delegates of the 15th Annual convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee appointed to consider the question of a shorter work day, respectfully report:

That the committee organized by the choice of Delegate Jacobson, as chairman, and Associate Committeeman McNeill as secretary A hearing was granted to the delegates who appeared and the resolutions referred to us by the convention were carefully considered. The magnitude of the interests involved in a movement for a universal eight hour day, so impressed the committee that they deemed such a general movement unwise.

The committee are agreed that it is the duty of the National and International unions to enter at once upon the preparatory work necessary to secure the shorter work day for their members. And they recommend such preparation, and that all possible assistance should be given to such unions as are prepared and willing to enter into the contest. That the Executive Council should be empowered by the affiliated unions to make such an assessment per week, and for such length of time as may be agreed upon for the purpose of securing the needed funds for the agitation and organization essential to success. And to aid in the support of the members involved in the movement.

Your committee further recommend that the Executive Council, after correspondence with the unions, and after a careful examination of the claims of the affiliated bodies received, shall select one or more of the best prepared and conditioned trades to conduct the contest for the shorter workday. The time for the beginning of such contest to be agreed upon by the Executive Councils of the A. F. of L., and the union or unions selected.

The several resolutions referred to the committee cover some of the recommendations herein contained, and some of these resolutions the committee cannot approve or recommend. We therefore suggest that all of these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council without prejudice.

Your committee further recommends that the whole force and power of the American Federation of Labor shall be concentrated upon the issue of a shorter work day, and that the Executive Council be requested to secure the fullest discussion by the press, the pulpit and the platform.

That organized labor is justified in thus concentrating its energies in securing a shorter work day, is proven by past experience and by a logical analysis of existing conditions and the trend of events.

The momentum of a century aids the motive power of individual and collective interests.

The instincts of the masses of mankind are with us.

The moral forces that sway society, the economic law that dour men produce cheaper things than cheap men, the forced aggregation of capital into monopolies and syndicates, the corruption of courts of law, the purchased service of legislators, the despotism of administrative functions, the minute sub-divisions of labor, the irregularities of employment, the swift-recurring periods of industrial stagnation and financial panics, the servitude of woman, the debasement of childhood, and the great army of unemployed, are all potent experiences that establish beyond cavil our claim that the laborers and not the capitalists should control the measure of time devoted to production.

A hundred years ago labor unorganized stood as an angry paralytic, before the iron image of the new factor in production. Slowly crushing the childhood, womanhood and manhood of the defenseless ones, the capitalist with the same merciless greed as that of his contemporary man-stealers, manufactured their product out of the web and woof of suffering manhood. Then came to these helpless and hopeless ones the glad angel of less hours of work. Secret organizations were formed, seeking still fewer hours of toil. Until through the martyrdom of many and the suffering of all, the right to organize was secured.

Less hours of toil gave better health of body and better health of brain. Less hours gave better wages, better homes, better lives. Gave an increased production and a better distribution of wealth.

The rapidity of production through the subdivision of labor, together with the cheapness of land, the high rates of interest and the easy going antipathy of the masses, gave the captain of industry greater powers than that possessed by kings. Legislation in the name of the people was uniformly in the interest of the few. Small capitalists co-operated by the formation of corporations with special privileges; unchecked competition led to the favor of speculation to be followed by the chill of death. Corporations joined corporations and the competition that was once a destroying power to many capitalists is now so directed as to destroy the individual, social and political freedom of the workers.

The unemployed, once but a flagrant few, is now an army, constantly recruited from the ranks of the industrious. Now numbering from one million to two millions, demoralized men and women. A menace to the standard of living of the workers and to republican institutions.

Let no man be deceived, nor allow his soul to dream of future grandeur. The times are ominous; the alarm has been struck; the purpose of the controlling classes are definitely outlined. The courts, the army, the police are the trinity of power that Mammon marshals for his last great battle.

Millions of the unemployed, dangerous in their despair, scores of millionaires more dangerous in their contempt for the suffering at their door, fanatics howling down all attempts to secure justice by peaceful methods, all join their forces against us.

The nineteenth century may go down in cloud or in flame, and the twentieth century dawn amid the chaos of contending forces. It is for the organized forces of labor to stand firm unswayed by the foolish talk of captains of police, undismayed before the corrupted courts of law.

The historic trades union movement is competent to meet each issue as it arises. The courts and the police have tried to buy power in every land, and for centuries of time—tried, but failed. Slowly, steadily, surely the forces of the grand army of labor are marching forward. Each moment rescued from the exploiting power of capital marks our progress; each rescued hour, an impregnable citadel.

Each hour reduced from wages-slavery, makes us more free and helps to make a fighting ally for us of the unemployed, and reduces the power of our opponents through the lessened profits upon our labor.

It is as true now as when it was declared a quarter of a century ago.

That less hours means reducing the profits and fortunes that are made on labor and its results.

More knowledge and more capital for the laborer, the wage system gradually disappearing through higher wages. Less poor people to borrow money and less wealthy ones to lend it; and natural decline in the high rate of interest.

More idlers working, and more workers thinking. The motive to fraud reduced and fewer calls for special legislation.



Women's wages increased, her household labor reduced, better opportunities for thought and action, and the creation of motives strong enough to demand and secure the ballot.

Reaching the great causes of intemperance, extreme wealth and extreme poverty. To this contest for a shorter work day, we invite the co-operation of all who seek the uplifting of humanity.

We greet our brothers from England as fellow soldiers in the same cause, and through them we send to the organized labor of the Old World our "All Hail" and amen to their every effort to emancipate labor from the thraldom of the wage system.

With hands extended, grasping brother's hands, we pledge ourselves anew to seek by honorable and peaceful ways that justice so long denied. Our steps though slow are leading up to the mountain of our hope.

Our banners wave, not o'er a slave,

But over men who dare!

The wealth we make is our's to take.

Each man his equal share.

Eight hours our song, its notes prolong,

From shipyard, shop and mill,

Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest,

Eight hours for what we will.

S. H. JACOBSON,

HENRY WEISMANN,

JOHN C. DERNELL,

HENRY C. BARTER,

OWEN MILLER,

GEO. E. MCNEIL.

The report was adopted.

The Committee on President's address reported as follows:

#### COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen—Your Committee on President's report beg leave to submit the following, after giving careful consideration to the various details of the report.

The American Federation of Labor has been able to hold its own and make some gains, in a year of unprecedented industrial stagnation. This Convention has reason to congratulate itself that the illness of our president was not long continued and that during his absence from office the affairs of the Federation were so judiciously directed by Brother Vice-President James Duncan.

#### FEDERATIONIST.

That portion of the report relating to official magazine has been referred to a special committee on *Federationist*.

#### STRIKES

It is pleasing to note that we have been successful to a considerable degree, but the fact that our success was due to great personal sacrifice on the part of those concerned, directly and indirectly points to the necessity of greater consolidation and unity of action on the part of wage workers to free ourselves from conditions which appear to grow worse, notwithstanding our heroic efforts.

We recommend that part of the report which refers to city, central and State organizations receive the hearty endorsement of the Convention, and that no sympathetic strikes be ordered where a contract exists between employer and employee, except in such cases where arbitration is refused by employer.

#### LEGISLATION.

The passage of the "McGuire bill" by Congress, through the effort of the committee appointed at the last Convention is commendable, and it is hoped that future efforts will eventually ameliorate the condition of seamen.

Renewed efforts should be made to secure the passage of the "Phillips Bill" which was defeated at last session of the Congress, and a Committee should be appointed by this Convention to urge the passage of this bill, together with a bill for the purpose of securing a uniform label law.

#### IMMIGRATION.

We believe the apathy of officials of labor organizations is due to the fact that it is almost impossible to secure a conviction under the existing laws covering immigration, the many failures to secure conviction having discouraged those who sought to enforce the law. If the contract labor law is not amended so as to make conviction reasonably possible results in the future will be productive of no more benefit than they have in the past.

#### THE BOND DEAL.

We endorse the sentiments as expressed by our president in his report on the "bond deal" and further, that bond issues or any other financial scheme is made possible only because of the fact that a small and constantly decreasing number of individuals are in possession of the implements of production, transportation and communication, hence any plan of finance, whether single, double or manifold standard or any bond issue based on any plan or system of exchange will produce equally ill effects so long as the wage workers are obliged to sell their labor power to those owning the means of production, transportation and communication.

#### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES.

That part of the report leading to "international congresses" we refer to the convention without recommendation.

The shorter work day has been referred to the special committee, appointed on the eight-hour work day.

#### POLITICAL ACTION.

We believe that twelve planks which were adopted by the Denver convention to constitute the platform of the American Federation of Labor. It is of little consequence as the result would be the same, while we as wage workers fail to recognize our class interests as separate and distinct from that of the capitalistic employer (and failing to realize that we cannot hope to be free in the shops, mines and factories while trudging under the wage system to the polls,

#### THE MISSION OF TRADE UNIONS.

Believing that this convention will place itself on record as to its conception of the mission of trade unions, we deem it unnecessary to dwell upon this subject.

Those remarks relating to the Cuban revolt have been covered by resolutions before the committee on resolutions.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN F. TOBIN, Chairman.

EDWARD J. LYNCH,

R. A. MULLEN,

E. H. DIEHL, Secretary.

Delegate Lennon moved that we take up the committee's recommendations *seriatim*. Carried.

The clause relating to attitude of unions toward each other, when working under contracts, in case of strikes, was discussed.

Delegate Lennon spoke against its adoption and moved to amend that the words "except in such cases where arbitration is refused by employers," be stricken out. He believed we had no right to attempt to compel organizations to violate contracts or go on strike against their will.

Delegate Mahon spoke in favor of co-operation of unions when in difficulty, and thought it was wrong for unions to tie themselves with contracts regardless of mutual interests. He was in favor of the committee's report.

Delegate Diehl also was in favor of the committee's report.

Delegate Linehan was opposed to sympathetic strikes.

Delegate O'Connell was not in favor of interference with one another's affairs, was opposed to sympathetic strikes, but yet did not wish to see any assistance which we might render hampered by contracts.

Delegate Valentine moved that the section under consideration, with amendment, lie on the table. Carried by 37 to 23.

On the recommendation to appoint committee to forward legislation, the secretary moved that the matter be referred to the Executive Council.

This occasioned some discussion, the delegates expressing themselves in favor of action by the convention.

The secretary explained that to send a committee to Washington involved considerable expense, which could be considered by the Executive Council later on better than at present, as we had other financial obligations to meet. That the Denver Convention had saddled expenses on the executive officers which had handicapped them somewhat during the past year.

Delegate Tobin suggested that the secretary's motion be changed to "that we concur in the report and refer the prosecution of the work to the Executive Council."

This was satisfactory to all parties and adopted.

On the subject of immigration Delegate J. Gompers moved to adopt the recommendation of committee.

Delegate Marks spoke at length, and hoped the A. F. of L. would do something on this question to protect his trade, the diamond versetellers, who suffered greatly from the importation of workmen in violation of the law. He also reported that his organization had been on strike for three months, and to-day had won in three shops.

This portion of the report was approved.

On the committee's language on the "bond deal," Delegate Lennon moved to non-concur; claimed it involved an economic doctrine upon which we did not agree. Some discussion ensued, and the secretary asked to explain; that Delegate Lennon, no doubt, thought the language used embodied the "collective principle," and perhaps it was so intended, but he did not so see it; that the wording was that the evil complained of was because a "small and decreasing number of individuals is in the possession of the implements of production, transportation and communication," which was true, and that the evils would continue "so long as the wage makers are obliged to sell their labor-power to those owning the means of production, etc.," was also true; but this was a statement of conditions; not a declaration of principle; was an attack on monopoly. If Delegate Tobin intended it to embody the "collective principle" in the words used, he had fallen short.

Delegate Lennon accepted this construction, withdrew his objection, and the report was adopted.

The portion of the report referring to the invitation of the International Congress of Socialist Workers was then considered, and Delegate O'Sullivan moved that it be referred to affiliated bodies.

Delegate Tobin hoped we would be represented at the congress.

Delegate Weismann opposed the project, saying it involved the acceptance of a doctrine which we had rejected at Denver; it embodied political action, to which we were opposed. He hoped we would have nothing to do with it.

Delegate Penna favored sending a delegate. We wanted greater unity of all phases of the labor movement; whether it be under the name of "pure and simple" or otherwise.

Delegate Linehan thought it wrong to even send it to the unions. There was as much consistency in recognizing the socialist party as there was the democratic or republican party, and he hoped we would refuse the invitation.

Delegate Barnes favored sending delegates,

and made a plea for state socialism, the flood of which would overwhelm us if we should go to the end of the world.

Delegate O'Connell opposed the invitation, saying that if we had any money to spend we could do so no better than at home.

Delegate Pomeroy spoke against the proposition and criticised the attitude of the social-

ists. As the hour of adjournment was close at hand he was interrupted by the chair.

Delegate Weismann moved to suspend the rules until the matter was settled.

A roll call was ordered on the motion, and the chair adjourned the convention, the time therefor having arrived.

Adjourned at 5:30.

## SIXTH DAY—Morning Session.

Saturday, December 14, 1895.

Convention called to order at 9:40.

Roll call ordered.

Present—Sidener, Klapetzky, Tobin, Eaton, Kurzenknabe, Bechtold, Lynch, J. Pearce, Plumb, Rowland, Barnes, Neuroth, S. Gompers, Dernel, Reichers, Jacobs, Jacobson, Duncan, Kenehan, Albers, Keough, Valentine, Keefe, O'Connell, Creamer, Ashe, Usher, Penna, McBryde, W. C. Pearce, Sullivan, Diehl, Dennis, Mahon, Fuguseth, Howard, Lennon, Blick, White, Higgins, McCraith, Pollard, Tracey, Junio, Parsons, Duffy, Lawrence, McCarthy, Perkins, Kennedy, McGill, Benedict, Braunschweiger, McCallum, Wieman, Lee, Mailly, Barter, Pomeroy, Kreyling, Anderson, Lanigan, J. Gompers, Kelly, Nicol, Hollister, Svindseth, McCambridge, Fenning, Clark Costello, McGean, Murphy, Mullin, Miller, Drach.

Absent—Weismann, McGuire, Linehan, Weiss, Widdowfield, Garland, Pohle, Gelson, Elderkin, Ryan, Prescott, Bramwood, Rist, Boehm, Simpson, McCulloch, Marks, O'Sullivan, Dummett, Mulcare.

Moved to dispense with reading of minutes. Carried.

The report of the Committee on President's Address was resumed.

The question to refer to affiliated bodies was voted upon and lost.

Delegate Pomeroy made a statement in reference to a meeting held the night previous by the socialist labor party in Cooper Institute, at which the A. F. of L. was severely criticised.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that the question of sending delegates to the International Socialist Workers and Trades Union Congress be laid upon the table. Carried by 52 to 11.

Delegate Pomeroy moved that we send to the next British Trade Union Congress fraternal feelings and felicitations.

Ruled out of order at this time.

The report of Committee on President's Address was continued, taking up the clause referring to political action. (See report.)

Delegate Ashe said that if he understood it right, it was intended to place us on record as against the wage system, to which he objected, unless a practical substitute was given for immediate use.

Delegate Barnes said that we were skittish on the subject of the abolishment of the wage system. Banded as we were, for the amelioration of the working people, he believed he occupied a proper position when he advocated the abolition of the wage system. At Denver the sum total of those instructed would have adopted the platform submitted by Chicago convention if they had been true to their constituents. The proceedings showed that the whole platform was ultimately defeated.

Delegate Gompers was opposed to the recommendation of the committee and moved to strike out all after the word "employer." There was a time when there was a parting of the ways. His colleague stated the trade union was a failure and he would offer us a new movement. At a meeting held at Cooper Institute last evening, men who are delegates to this convention representing national unions had agreed to a resolution declaring for the National Socialist Alliance, formed a few weeks ago, with the understanding that they were to leave all other unions, and delegates on this floor were treacherous enough to support it. The stigma of ultra conservatism had been placed upon us by those who covered their cowardice by an utterance of radical words, who would substitute them for deeds. There is no more intolerant man in the world than the state socialist, or the men rather who are cloaked under the name of the socialist labor party. Were it not that nature gave him a good pair of lungs he would have been silenced in Madison Square Garden when appealing for the unemployed. If socialism was right let it grow, but don't continue to decry the trade unions; think of its martyrs, its achievements,

its results. The trade union may be slow, but the very fact of its slowness was evidence of its strength.

Delegate Lennon objected both to the original motion and the amendment. The statement that the twelve planks were adopted at Denver is not true. When it was there proposed to adopt as a whole, it fell entirely, and he was not willing to go on record in such way as proposed. The charge of trudging to the polls was not true. He went to the polls as his convictions prompted, and would continue to do so. A man has a right to advocate any idea, political or religious, but not in the trade union. The trade unions are not intolerant, but are opposed to the introduction of questions where they do not belong. His own local union was almost destroyed by the introduction of this, that and the other "ism," including the A. P. A. What has been the result? Division and demoralization. He had never tried to force his opinions on any one else, and yet because he did not accept those of others, he was maligned. The report contains two things which were false. We did not adopt the platform at Denver and we were not trudging to the polls.

Delegate Mahon was here called to the chair.

Delegate Pomeroy offered the following:

Inasmuch as doubt exists as to whether the so-called political platform was adopted or not by the Denver convention,

**RESOLVED,** That this convention declare that the failure to adopt the planks as a whole was equivalent to a rejection and therefore we declare that the American Federation has no political platform.

Delegate Pomeroy read from the proceedings showing it was refused to adopt as a whole at Denver.

Delegate Junio thought that if we had a political platform we would certainly be in the field as a political party, and as he understood it, our constitution was against such methods. The democratic party has as much right to come here for endorsement as the socialist, and that party which claims to be the friend of labor should be the last to denounce trade unions.

Delegate McBryde said this was the third time he had unfortunately attended a convention. Each time he had heard a lot of talk about pure and simple trade unionism and he had reached the conclusion they did not know what trade unionism was. Trade unions are not to go into politics, but they should advocate beneficial measures. He didn't find fault with the socialist party for asking us to adopt their platform, because we are adopting it piece by piece anyway.

Delegate Tobin said that the records proved that the delegates did not vote as instructed at Denver. The wage question must be dealt with if we are to save our people and this Federation would be compelled to do so emphatically in the near future.

Delegate Weismann asked if the Norwich Trade Union Congress had not attempted to tax the organization for the purpose of presenting the co-operative commonwealth plan to parliament and committee subsequently reported they could not collect the money.

Delegate Tobin replied it made no difference, he did not hope to capture the visionaries who were gone off on philosophical anarchy, etc.; they were after the rank and file and the movement would go on.

Delegate Albers wanted a roll call.

Delegate Jacobson refuted the charge of intolerance made against trade unionists, and spoke severely against the proposition.

Delegate Weismann said we are not confronted with an economic doctrine, but an attempt to capture the trade unions by the socialist labor party. There was nothing then to do, but vote down everything that comes from these people if we are to avoid acrimonious controversy and eventual destruction. He had always found that the individualist or philosophical anarchist was a better trade unionist than the state socialist. It was the method we were opposing, not the question of collectivism which would work itself out in the end.

Delegate Barnes pictured the conditions of the working people and instanced the conditions existing at Chicago at the time of our convention. They had seen men and women stretched on the corridors of the city hall, a ragged humanity, presenting a melting scene, appealing to the heart. In a recent speech President McBride had quoted some figures which told a story beyond his power to picture. In 1850 labor had 62½ per cent of wealth and capital 37½; in 1890, forty years after being led by the policy of trade unions, labor had 17 per cent and capital 83. He did not deny the trade unions had been an influence for good. No one can contend successfully to the contrary, but in the face of these facts, are we representing the working people today? We possess the power to make and unmake presidents if we would use it.

Delegate Braunschweiger called for the previous question. Defeated.

Delegate O'Sullivan asked if the platform was rejected would not the several planks stand, as the legislative declaration of this body.

Delegate Barnes asked for a roll call on the substitute of Delegate Pomeroy for the committee's report. Granted.

For—Sidener, Weismann, Klapetzky, Eaton, Lynch, J. Pearce, McGuire, Plumb, Rowland, Neuroth, S. Compers, Dernel, Reichers, Jacobson, Duncan, Albers, Widdowfield, Keough, Valentine, Garland, Keefe, O'Connell, Creamer, Ashe, Usher, Penna, McBryde, W. Pearce, Sullivan, Diehl, Dennis, Mahon, Furusest, Elderk, Howard, Lennon, Blich, White, Prescott, McCraith, Tracey, Junio, Parsons, Lawrence, McCarthy, McGill, Benedict, Braunschweiger, Lee, Pomeroy, Anderson, Lanigan, J. Compers, Marks, Kelly, O'Sullivan, Nicol, Hollister, Svindseth, Fenning, Clark, Costello, McGean, Murphy, Mulcare, Mullen, Miller, Drach—153.

Against—Tobin, Kurzenknahe, Bechtold, Barnes, Kenchan, Poble, Bramwood, Rist, Duffy, Perkins, Kennedy, Wieman, Maily, Barter, Kreyling, McCambridge—359.

Delegate Klapetzky asked permission to introduce a resolution. Ruled out.

Delegate Penna asked for information as to what construction the chair would put upon the substitute.

The chair decided that it did not do away with the resolution only as a political platform.

Upon this view, and before the vote was declared as above, Delegates Bramwood, Barter, Duffy and Higgins desired to change their votes to the affirmative.

The substitute motion was declared carried by a vote of 1676 to 214.

Delegate McGuire moved that these resolutions be kept standing in the *Federationist* as "legislature demands."

Delegate Klapetzky moved to add "and not as a political platform." Seconded by Garland.

Delegate O'Sullivan offered the following substitute:

RESOLVED, That the resolution relative to matters of a political nature adopted at the Denver convention be declared by this convention as the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor.

Rejected, and also the amendment of Delegate Klapetzky.

The original motion of Delegate McGuire was adopted.

The secretary desired to be recorded against.

At this juncture the following telegram was read:

Toledo, December 14, 1895.  
John Braunschweiger, American Federation of Labor Convention, Madison Square Garden, New York:

Mockett returned three thousand dollars of Rochester made clothing. More will follow.

WM. COWELL, Sec. C. L. U. Toledo.

The balance of the committee's report on president's address was adopted.

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Moved to adopt the amended report as a whole. Carried.

The Committee on Law reported as follows:

New York, December 14, 1895.

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Laws having carefully considered the subjects referred to them submit the following report:

No. 1, as appears printed on program by John B. Lennon, secretary of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America: Amend Section 3, Article XIII, to read: The certificate fee for affiliating bodies shall be, for charter or certificate of affiliation, \$5, an initiation fee of ten cents per member for each member in good standing at time of affiliation, payable to the Secretary of the Federation and which shall accompany the application. Non-concurred in.

No. 2. By the Executive Board of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Alliance: No union shall be recognized as a bona fide union which is not affiliated with the national or international body of its trade, if there be one, or with the A. F. of L. direct.

No union affiliated with the A. F. of L. shall be permitted to affiliate with any central labor body in which non-affiliated unions as described above are represented. Concurred.

P. J. MCGUIRE,  
M. P. PRESCOTT,  
J. MAHLON BARNES,  
JOS. VALENTINE,  
P. J. PENNA.

The report of the committee on first resolution was adopted.

On the second resolution, Delegate Weismann objected, as he thought it would work a hardship.

Delegate Pomeroy stated they had a local union of bricklayers in Chicago which was not affiliated with its national; if said national affiliated with the A. F. of L., what would be the position of the local?

Delegate McGuire said it must affiliate with the national or be expelled from the central body.

Delegate Duncan hoped the motion would be defeated as it would render organization and affiliation more difficult.

Delegate McGuire said the bricklayers should take out a charter from the A. F. of L. direct, if the national body was not affiliated.

Delegate Kreyling spoke in favor of the motion.

Delegate Weismann asked that the Grievance Committee be made special order for two o'clock.

Delegate Sullivan was decidedly in favor of resolution No. 2.

The President appointed the following Committee on the Labor Movement in Chicago: E. A. Perkins, J. Braunschweiger, David Kreyling, H. C. Barter, L. S. Weiman.

Adjourned at 12:35.

## SIXTH DAY.—Afternoon Session.

Convention was called to order at 2:00.

Delegate Weismann moved that rules be suspended, and that the Grievance Committee's report be taken up.

Delegate Barnes stated that as the machinists were going away this evening, and as a matter of importance was pending concerning them, asked that the Law Committee be allowed to report on the matter.

Delegate Drach moved the previous question. Carried.

Motion that we go into executive session and hear the report of the Grievance Committee, and that visitors and others be excluded from the hall. Carried.

Delegate Drach moved to instruct the Committee on Grievance that after having made their report that we listen to the case of the Manhattan Musical Protective Union.

Delegate Garland stated that it was not necessary to make a motion to that effect. The President declared that we are now in executive session.

Delegate Kenehan wanted to know what the injunction of executive session implied, as at the Chicago convention the business transacted was common property on the streets.

Delegate Pomeroy denied that there was anything given out in Chicago, as not one paper in the city published anything that transpired.

Delegate Weismann of the Grievance Committee reported as follows:

New York, December 14, 1895.  
To the Delegates of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen—Your committee heard the complaints against the decision of the Executive Council in favor of the recognition of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, with headquarters at Baltimore, and found both sides disposed to bring about unity and harmony among the craft in question.

Your committee now most respectfully recommend, that the decision of the Executive Council be sustained, and that the Brotherhood in the interest of harmony, be required to admit the local unions now affiliated with the faction having headquarters at Lafayette, Ind., and of which J. W. McKinney is the general secretary, as local branches under the same conditions, and with the full privileges of new unions, however, without requiring the payment of any charter fees.

M. M. GARLAND,  
DANIEL KEEFE,  
W. D. MAHON,  
HENRY WEISMANN,  
EDGAR A. PERKINS.

Delegate Sullivan expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with the report of the committee.

Delegate Mahone stated that he had assurance from President McBride and President Sullivan of the Painters' and Decorators' Union, that the present general secretary would not stand for re-election, and that J. W. McKinney had stepped down and out, with this understanding, and it was desired that this be so recorded in the minutes. Adopted.

The committee further reported:

New York, December 13, 1895.  
To the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen—We, your Committee on Grievances, having under consideration the complaint of the United Tin, Sheet-Iron and Cornice Workers' International Association, respectfully submit the following report: Complaint is that the Tin and Sheet-Iron Workers' International Association chartered a local union, No. 102, of New York City, which at the time of issuing such charter was composed of scabs and expelled members of the complainant association. The latter body, therefore, request this convention to procure the nullification of said charter.

Your committee after hearing the evidence in this case, and reviewing the documents submitted by the Executive Council, find that the charges of the Tin and Sheet-Iron Workers' Association of New York are based on fact, but we further find that said action of the International Association was due principally to the erroneous information of the executive officers of said organization by the parties interested, and therefore recommend that the Tin and Sheet-Iron Workers' Association be requested to confer by representatives with the Tin and Sheet-Iron Workers' Association of New York and the Iron Moulders' Union of America, both parties interested in this dispute, within two months from date, with a view of reaching an amicable adjustment of the present difficulty. Your committee further recommends that unless this conference reaches a settlement of the difficulty, the Tin, Sheet-Iron and Cornice Workers' International Association be required to enforce Section 4, Article IX, of their constitution, and to revoke the charter of No. 102, of New York. Your committee further recommend that to avoid any further difficulty of this kind, the United Tin and Sheet-Iron Workers' Association of New York should affiliate with its national organization without further delay, thereby becoming a part of the American Federation of Labor.

M. M. GARLAND,  
DANIEL KEEFE,  
W. D. MAHON,  
EDGAR A. PERKINS,  
HENRY WEISMANN.

Adopted.

New York, December 13, 1895.  
To the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the  
American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen—We, your Committee on Grievances, having under consideration the appeal of Musicians' Mutual Benefit Association of St. Louis, Mo., against their suspension from the St. Louis Trade and Labor Union, in consequence of their refusal to inaugurate a sympathetic strike in behalf of the striking Theatrical Stage Employees of that city, find that the decision of the Executive Council in the matter in question, which is favorable to the action of the musicians' union, owing to their holding a contract with their employers, which could not be broken without a resort to dishonorable means, should be sustained by this convention; we further find that the constitutional provision of the St. Louis Trade and Labor Union upon which the musicians were suspended from the said body is unconstitutional and in violation of Section 2, Article II, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, guaranteeing strict autonomy to each organization affiliated.

Your committee in this connection would further recommend that the Law Committee of this convention be charged with a definition of the relations between central bodies, and state branches and national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and particularly so in reference to the inauguration of sympathetic strikes.

M. M. GARLAND,  
DANIEL KEEFE,  
W. D. MAHON,  
EDGAR A. PERKINS,  
HENRY WEISMANN.

Delegate Kreyling made a statement of the difficulty. He said that the musicians had received the support of the central body at all times, but that they had not reciprocated.

Delegate Miller said that they had never asked any man to lay down his tools in their behalf. They had catered to the wants of labor on different occasions. They had said to them in St. Louis that they had got to come out and were not asked to in a proper manner.

Delegate Ryan stated that possibly the Grievance Committee could not act otherwise in this case, but that he thought the stage employees should have been supported by the musicians. (See eighth day, afternoon session.)

The secretary asked if the report of the committee should not be printed as far as it had gone.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that it be printed. So ordered.

Moved that we arise from executive session. Passed.

Delegate Pomeroy was then called to the chair and nomination of officers was declared in order.

Delegate Duncan stated that it gave him great pleasure to nominate John McBride, the present incumbent. The best interests of the

movement would be thereby subserved. Delegate Bramwood seconded the nomination.

Delegate Furuseth stated that in the struggles which labor has to master, in these troublesome times, we should have for president a man who stands always for the trade union movement regardless of "isms"—a man who can at all times be relied upon. He took great pleasure in nominating Samuel Gompers. Seconded by Delegate Linehan.

Nominations closed and roll call ordered.

For McBride—Sidener, Tobin, Eaton, Lynch, Rowland, Barnes, Kelly, Weiss, Jacobs, Duncan, Kenehan, Widdowfield, Keough, Garland (40), Pohle, Usher, Penna, McBryde, Pearce, Diehl, Mahone, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Duffy, Perkins, Kennedy, Benedict, Braunschweiger, Wieman, Lee, Mally, Pomeroy, Anderson, Simpson, McCulloch, Nicol, Svindseth, McCambridge, Costello, Miller—1023.

For Gompers—Weismann, Klapetzky, Kurzenkabe, Bechtold, Pearce, McGuire, Plumb, Linehan, Neuroth, S. Gompers, Dernel, Reichers, Jacobson, Albers, Valentine, Garland (40), Keefe, O'Connell, Ashe, Creamer, Sullivan, Dennis, Furuseth, Elderkin, Howard, Lennón, Blick, Ryan, White, Pollard, Tracey, Junio, Parsons, Lawrence, McCarthy, Rist, McGill, Boehm, Barter, Kreyling, Lanigan, J. Gompers, Marks, O'Sullivan, Hollister, Fenning, Clark, McGean, Murphy, Mullen, Drach—1041.

The chair declared Samuel Gompers elected president for the ensuing year.

Delegate Gompers thanked the delegates for the honor conferred; the presidency of the trade union movement was the highest honor in the country. He would reiterate what he had always said: he was a trade unionist first and would stand always for that principle. He would return thanks to his supporters, and of his non supporters, he knew they had none the less respect for him.

President McBride replied that he had prepared a speech for the occasion, but that Delegate Gompers had made it. He was satisfied with the result, however, and would say there was no higher honor than the position which he was vacating. He yielded to no man his fidelity to the trade union, and his successor would at all times have his support and friendship. He recognized that no man was greater than the labor movement. Jefferson had said that the highest duty of citizenship demanded acquiescence to the will of the majority. He thanked his supporters for their loyalty to him, and for those who voted against him, he had none but the kindest of feelings and respect, who he would treat always as union men ought to be treated. He would not again occupy official position in the labor movement, but at all times, as a private, by the use of his time,

voice and influence, help to advance the cause of labor. He greeted the delegates in greeting their new president.

Nominations for first vice-president. Delegate Linehan nominated P. J. McGuire. Delegate Duffy nominated M. M. Garland. Declined. Delegate Wieman nominated C. P. McCambridge. Declined. Delegate O'Sullivan moved that nominations close. Carried.

Moved that secretary cast unanimous vote for Delegate McGuire, which was done.

Delegates Weismann, McCambridge and Miller escorted Delegate McGuire to the chair, who thanked the convention for the honor conferred.

Nominations for second vice-president. Delegate O'Connell nominated James Duncan. Delegate Weismann nominated Chas. Reichers. Nominations closed.

For Duncan—Sidener, Tobin, Eaton, Kurzenkabe, Bechtold, Lynch, McGuire, Rowland, Barnes, Kelly, Weiss, Duncan, Kenehan, Widdowfield, Keough, Valentine, O'Connell, Creamer, Ashe, Pohle, Usher, Penna, McBryde, W. Pearce, Sullivan, Dennis, Mahone, Elderkin, Howard, Ryan, White, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Pollard, Parsons, Duffy, Rist, Perkins, Kennedy, McGill, Benedict, Braunschweiger, Wieman, Lee, Maily, Barter, Pomeroy, Anderson, Hollister, McCambridge, Clark, McGean, Miller, Drach—1366.

For Reichers—Weismann, Klapetzky, Pearce, Plumb, Linehan, Neuroth, S. Gompers, Dernel, Reichers, Jacobs, Jacobson, Albers, Garland, Keefe, Diehl, Fursuth, Lennon, Blick, Tracey, Junio, Lawrence, McCarthy, McCallum, Kreyling, J. Gompers, Marks, O'Sullivan, Nicol, Fenning, Murphy, Mullen—739.

Delegate Reichers moved to make election of Delegate Duncan unanimous. Carried.

Delegates Kurzenkabe, Rowland, Bechtold and Reichers were appointed a committee to escort Vice-President Duncan to the chair, who thanked the delegates for their action, and saying he would at all times work for the best interests of the Federation.

Delegate Lennon nominated Delegate O'Connell for third vice-president; Delegate Bramwood nominated Delegate Kenehan; Delegate Kelly nominated Delegate Mahon; Delegate Simpson nominated Delegate McCambridge, who declined; Delegate Mahon declined in favor of Delegate Kenehan. Moved that nominations be closed.

For Kenehan—Sidener, Tobin, Eaton, Bechtold, Barnes, Neuroth, Weiss, Kenehan, Pohle, Penna, McBryde, W. C. Pearce, Dennis, Mahon, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Rist, Perkins, Kennedy, Wieman, Lee, Pomeroy (½), Svindseth—817½.

For O'Connell—Weismann, Klapetzky, Kurzenkabe, Lynch, J. Pearce, McGuire, Plumb, Rowland, Linehan, S. Gompers, Dernel, Kelly,

Reichers, Jacobs, Jacobson, Duncan, Albers, Widdowfield, Keough, Valentine, Garland, Keefe, O'Connell, Creamer, Ashe, Usher, Sullivan, Diehl, Fursuth, Howard, Lennon, Blick, Ryan, White, Pollard, Tracey, Junio, Parsons, Duffy, Lawrence, McCarthy, McGill, Benedict, Braunschweiger, Boehm, McCallum, Maily, Barter, Pomeroy (½), Kreyling, Anderson, McCulloch, J. Gompers, Marks, O'Sullivan, Nicol, Hollister, McCambridge, Fenning, Clark, McGean, Murphy, Mullen, Miller, Drach—1234½.

Delegate Kenehan moved that Delegate O'Connell be elected unanimously. Carried.

The chair appointed Delegates Kenehan, Mahon and Kelly to escort Third Vice-President-elect O'Connell to the platform.

Delegate O'Connell thanked the delegates for the honor they had conferred upon him, saying that he had done all he could for the A. F. of L. since his organization had affiliated, and would continue to do so.

Nominations for fourth Vice-President:

Delegate Rist nominated Diehl; Delegate Kelly nominated Mahon; Delegate Sidener nominated Barter, Delegate Tracey nominated Reichers, who declined; Delegate Duffy nominated Garland; Delegate Tobin nominated Penna, who declined; Delegate Penna seconded nomination of Delegate Mahone.

FOR BARTER—Sidener, Tobin, Neuroth, S. Gompers, Dernel, Keefe, White, Junio, Fursuth, Elderkin, McGill (¼), McCallum, Pomeroy, Kreyling, Anderson, O'Sullivan—378½.

FOR GARLAND—Weismann, Kurzenkabe, Bechtold, J. Pearce, McGuire, Plumb, Rowland, Linehan, Weiss, Reichers, Jacobs, Jacobson, Valentine (20), Keough, Garland, O'Connell, Creamer, Ashe, Usher, Lennon, Blick, Ryan, Tracey, Parsons, Duffy, Kennedy, McGill (¼), Benedict, Braunschweiger, Lee, Maily, J. Gompers, Marks, McCambridge, Fenning, McGean, Murphy, Miller, Drach—776½.

FOR DIEHL—Albers, Valentine (20), Widdowfield, Diehl, Lawrence, Rist, McGill (¼), Mullen—93½.

FOR MAHON—Klapetzky, Eaton, Lynch, Barnes, Kelly, Duncan, Kenehan, Pohle, Penna, McBryde, W. C. Pearce, Sullivan, Mahon, Howard, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Pollard, McCarthy, Perkins, McGill (¼), Boehme, Wieman, Barter, Simpson, Svindseth—761½.

There being no choice the name of Delegate Diehl was dropped and Delegate Barter also withdrew.

Second vote taken and resulted as follows:

FOR GARLAND—Weismann, Klapetzky, Kurzenkabe, Bechtold, Pearce, Plumb, Rowland, Linehan, Neuroth, S. Gompers, Dernel, Reichers, Jacobs, Jacobson, Albers, Widdowfield, Keough, Valentine, Garland, O'Connell, Creamer, Ashe, Usher, Sullivan, Diehl, Lennon, Blick, Ryan, Tracey, Junio, Parsons, Duffy, Lawrence, Rist, Kennedy, Benedict, Braunschweiger, Maily, Pomeroy (½), Anderson, J. Gompers, Marks, O'Sullivan, McCambridge, Fenning, McGean, Murphy, Miller, Drach—1,082½.



FOR MAHON—Sidener, Tobin, Eaton, Lynch, McGuire, Barnes, Kelly, Weiss, Duncan, Kenehan, Keefe, Pochle, Penna, McBryde, W. Pearce, Mahon, Furuseth, Howard, White, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Pollard, McCarthy, Perkins, McGill, Boehme, McCallum, Weiman, Lee, Barter, Pomeroy (½), Kreyling, Simpson, Svindseth, Mullen—95½.

Delegate Mahon moved that Delegate Garland be elected unanimously.

Carried.

Delegate Garland thanked the delegates for the honor they had conferred upon him and hoped a new era of prosperity was before the A. F. of L.

Delegate Linchan nominated John B. Lennon for Treasurer.

Moved that nominations close and that the Secretary cast full ballot for him.

So ordered.

Nominations for Secretary:

Delegate Derneln nominated Aug. McCraith,

seconded by Delegates Penna and O'Sullivan. There being no opposition, the chair was instructed to cast the vote of the Convention for Delegate McCraith.

Carried.

Delegate Duffy moved that we now hear a short address from Joseph R. Buchanan, who was introduced and spoke encouragingly of the future; that every man who belonged to a trade union should belong to a political party, but that politics should not be admitted in the union. He hoped the day was not far distant when all differences would be united upon one platform. He believed the movement would be considerably advanced in the next twelve months, which would produce issues of vital importance that would overbalance anything of a similar nature heretofore. Let every man do his duty and he had undying hope that labor would conquer ultimately.

Adjourned at 5:55.

## SEVENTH DAY—Morning Session.

Monday, Dec. 16, 1895.

Convention called to order at 9:30.

PRESENT — Sidener, Klapetzky, Tobin, Eaton, Kurzenkabe, Bechtold, McGuire, Plumb, Rowland, Linchan, Barnes, Neuroth, Derneln, Reichers, Jacobs, Duncan, Kenehan, Albers, Keough, Garland, Keefe, O'Connell, Ashe, Pohle, Usher, Sullivan, Furuseth, Howard, Lennon, Blick, Ryan, White, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Tracey, Junio, Duffy, McCarthy, Rist, Perkin, Kennedy, McGill, Braunschweiger, McCallum, Wieman, Lee, Maily, Barter, Pomeroy, Kreyling, Anderson, McCulloch, Marks, Kelly, O'Sullivan, Svindseth, McCambridge, McGean, Miller.

ABSENT—Weismann, J. Pearce, S. Gompers, Weiss, Jacobson, Widdowfield, Valen-Pearce, Diehl, Dennis, Gelson, Mahon, Elertine, Creamer, Penna, McBryde, W. C. Pearce, Diehl, Dennis, Gelson, Mahon, Elderkin, Prescott, Pollard, Parsons, Lawrence, Benedict, Boehme, Izanigan, Simpson, J. Gompers, Nicol, Hollister, Dummett, Fenning, Clark, Costello, Murphy, Mulcare, Mullen, Drach.

Delegate Ashe moved that we receive the balance of the report of the Committee on Law.

Carried.

Delegate Barnes stated we would assume discussion on Resolution No. 2, referring to our attitude toward central bodies admitting unions not affiliated with their respective nationals as follows:

No. 2. By the Executive Board of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Alliance: No union shall be recognized as a *bona fide* union which is not affiliated with the national or international body of its trade, if there be one, or with the A. F. of L. direct.

No union affiliated with the A. F. of L. shall be permitted to affiliate with any central labor body in which non-affiliated unions as described above are represented.

Concurred.

Delegate Lennon asked if a central body refused to expel an independent local must our unions withdraw.

Delegate Pomeroy thought the law would work injury. Moved to lay on table.

Delegate McGuire raised the point of order that to lay on table would dispose of entire report.

The Chair would so rule if called upon, but out general custom was otherwise.

Delegate Barnes stated the originator of the motion had not spoken.

Delegate Pomeroy stated Delegate Albers had spoken on Saturday.

The motion to lay on table was defeated.

Delegate Pomeroy moved to amend first clause by inserting "provided such national or international is connected with the A. F. of L."

After much discussion pro and con, in which it was thought such a law would solidify common interests, while others thought it would hamper the work of our organization, the amendment was carried by a vote of 33 to 12, but upon the motion to adopt as amended, it was lost by a vote of 34 to 20.

The Committee further reported on the resolution of the Bakers Union to move headquarters to Chicago, in which they nonconcurred.

Delegate Weismann of the Bakers withdrew the motion, and the report was accepted.

The Committee reported non-concurrence on the following:

**RESOLVED,** That any delegate central body holding a charter from the A. F. of L. shall have its charter revoked, if it denies, or excludes from representation at its meetings duly elected delegates of any trade that is affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Delegate McGuire stated that the Executive Council would dispose of this question and there was no necessity for special legislation.

With this understanding Delegate Ashe desired to withdraw the motion. Cosent given.

The Chair stated that when a central body refused to admit delegates of our affiliated bodies its charter should be withdrawn and locals are the judges of their own representatives.

The Committee would refer the resolution to change pledge in manual or federal labor unions to the Committee on Organization.

So ordered.

On the resolution of S. H. Jacobson to amend Art. III, Sec. 3, of the Constitution to insert after the word "president" and report of the Executive Council," the committee concurred.

Adopted.

On a resolution to consider the advisability of changing pledge in manual, committee reported already covered.

On the following resolution the committee reported that it was already covered in resolution respecting affiliation with central bodies admitting non-affiliated locals, and which was defeated.

**RESOLVED,** That no local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or any local union of a national or international body which is affiliated with the A. F. of L. shall affiliate with any organization of barbers not affiliated with the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America.

The Committee's report as above was adopted, and Delegate Klapetzky desired to be recorded against.

Adopted.

The resolution to expel locals from central bodies who refuse to affiliate with their nationals, was referred to Committee on Organization.

The Committee reported the following:

Wind is the vehicle of thought; thought is the expression of mental power; all brainy men are, therefore, windy—Chicago's reply to Carping Critics.

Moved to refer to Delegate Pomeroy.

Carried.

The Committee further reported:

By the Executive Council: "That no certificate of affiliation be granted to federal labor unions to be in whole or in part composed of members of existing trade unions."

The Committee would amend by inserting the word "hereafter" after "be" in first line, and to transfer "composed" in place of "to be" in last line.

Delegate O'Sullivan thought the federal labor unions were absolutely necessary for general organization, and for women especially.

Delegate Duffy spoke against the report.

Delegate Linehan moved to strike out "or in part."

The Secretary stated that the Social Reform Club Charter adopted at Denver, had been issued by the Executive Council to fill the gap created by this amendment.

Delegate Compers favored the amendment to strike out "or in part."

Delegate Barnes spoke against the amendment.

Delegate Pomeroy submitted the following substitute:

Not more than three federal labor unions shall be chartered in any one city. No federal labor union shall be recognized as affiliated if its membership consists of a majority of active members of trade unions.

Adopted.

The law committee further reported without recommendation, on the following submitted by Delegate O'Connell:

As union men—trade unionists—imbued with what we consider the best interests of the working classes, we view with distrust the policy, methods, and practice of some so-called labor leaders and organizations whose whole aim is, apparently, the disintegration of certain trade unions, and

1st. This is startlingly obvious in the attitude of the International Machinists Union towards the International Association of Machinists, inasmuch, as they, the International Machinists' Union, have at all times, and on all occasions, when the opportunity was favorable, done everything in their power to belittle and cast reflections on the International Association of Machinists, and

2d. The International Association of Machinists being now affiliated with and having representation in the American Federation of Labor, being the most numerous body and having greater scope for doing good, it is in the interests of the International Association of

Machinists, and labor generally, that anything, or body, that prevents the full purpose and progress of the machinists' craft towards solidarity ought to be removed. Therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, 1st. That the International Machinists' Union having outlived any usefulness it may have had in the labor world, and that its existence is extremely doubtful, with strong indications that it exists on paper only. Therefore we move

2d. That they surrender their charter to the American Federation of Labor, and that any of their membership that may be in existence and eligible, shall deposit their membership cards with the International Association of Machinists to the end that there shall be no division in the ranks of the machinists of the United States, Canada and Mexico.

The following communications were read by the Secretary:

Detroit, Mich., Dec. 12, 1895.

Mr. August McCraith, Secretary A. F. of L.  
Dear Sir and Brother—Would you kindly call the attention of the delegates to the fact that the International Union, will pay Five (\$5), Dollars for every Broom Makers' Union organized, it is not necessary for me to explain to you the condition of our union and I hope you will make an earnest appeal to the delegates that when they go to their homes, they will lend every effort to organize the Broom Makers of their respective cities. Hoping you will comply with the request and wishing you all success, I remain,

Yours fraternally,  
P. J. McCORMICK,  
Sec'y-Treas.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 9, 1895.

Mr. Aug. McCraith, Secretary, A. F. of L.  
Dear Sir and Brother—The following resolution was adopted by the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union, and we respectfully request you to bring this before the A. F. of L. in Convention assembled, as we are unable to have a delegate with you at this time:

**RESOLVED**, That we, the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union request the American Federation of Labor to indorse the union label of our organization.

Fraternally yours,  
CHARLES A. BAUSTIAN,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

To the Convention Delegates of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen and Brothers — The joint advisory Board of the Cigarmakers' International Union of New York and vicinity, consisting of 15 local unions, considers it necessary to call your attention to the fact, that child labor in this State has made such a progress, that hundreds and hundreds of men are deprived of the opportunity to make a living and are doomed to starvation.

Among other firms in the cigar trade, the firm of Powell, Smith & Co., which has a factory in New York City—has another factory in Kingston, where exclusively girls and boys are employed at the machines. Our Kingston members inform us that in this factory are employed 200 boys and 600 girls, from 14 to 20 years of age, but at least 20 per cent, of them do not look to be 14, although they have certificates according to State factory law vouched by factory inspector, M. Blanchard.

As everybody knows that unscrupulous manufacturers employ children only on account of cheapness, nobody will wonder that the prices

paid in this factory are the lowest in the history of our trade.

The industrial conditions not only in this State, but in the whole world are the same. The tendency is to have human labor replaced by machines and in this case to make it cheaper—children are placed at the machines.

To endeavor to better the conditions in our trade we do all in our power, but as the goods of this firm are sold all over the country we need your assistance. We do not ask any financial aid, all we request you to do is when you return to your respective localities, to induce the members of all the trades to drive all the cigars of this firm out of the market.

The principal brands of the firm Powell, Smith & Co. are: Smoketter, Fire Brigade, 5 cent cigar; New York Bouquet, L. Capitan General, 10 cent cigar. Besides that there are other brands of cigars of this firm in the market, but if you wish to be sure not to smoke scab cigars demand "blue label" cigars. Hoping that you will act according to the universal motto "One for all and all for one," we remain,

Yours fraternally,  
DANIEL HARRIS,  
Chairman.

Moved that the communication be endorsed and spread upon the minutes.

Carried.

Delegate Kelly moved that the consideration of the place of the next Convention be made a special order for 3 o'clock. Delegate Barter amended it by making it 10 o'clock tomorrow. Amendment lost by a vote of 21 to 26.

Original motion carried.

The Secretary read a communication from the Coopers' Union, asking the Convention to declare against ale and beer packages made by machinery and in favor of hand made.

Delegate Bechtold thought we could not go on record as fighting machinery, and it would be better for the Coopers to organize the men in the cooperage machine factories.

So ordered.

The Chair announced that George Francis Train had been invited to address the Convention, also that Mrs. Charlotte Smith had asked for the privilege of addressing the Convention.

Delegate Higgins moved that Mrs. Smith be invited to address the Convention this afternoon.

Delegate Garland moved that she be granted 15 minutes.

Delegate McGuire moved that no speakers be allowed to address Convention until we have transacted our routine business.

The President stated that he had been instructed to invite Mr. Train by the Convention a few days ago.

Delegate McGuire quoted resolution passed at the Chicago Convention that no person be allowed the privilege of the floor who was not a member of a trades union.

President ruled that was the law between Conventions, but when in session the Convention could override.

Delegate Tracey hoped that we would not be so discourteous as to refuse Mrs. Smith the privilege asked.

Moved that she be granted 10 minutes.  
Granted.

Moved that we adjourn.

Carried. Time, 12:40.

## SEVENTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Called to order at 2:15.

Delegate Howard announced that Mr. Mawdsley would leave at 5 o'clock, and he would like to discuss the resolution in reference to organizing the textile industries in the South.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved to that effect.

The Committee on Organization reported:

RESOLVED, That a sum of money, not to exceed \$500, be appropriated for the purpose of organizing the textile workers of the Southern States, and that the Executive Council select two organizers, one to be a resident of the South and one from some union of the textile industry.

The Committee recommended that it be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate O'Sullivan stated that the resolution did not mean that \$500 should be expended, but that it should not exceed that amount. He moved that the resolution be adopted.

Delegate Howard urged favorable action. Wages are low and hours long in the South. They were continually told in Massachusetts their wages must conform. No more progress can be made in New England until the Southern situation was improved.

Delegates Higgins and Pomeroy supported the motion.

Delegate Barter thought that all such matters should be referred to the Executive Council.

The motion of Delegate O'Sullivan was adopted. Delegate Barter desired to be recorded against.

The report of Organization Committee on withdrawal of charter of the International Machinists' Union was then considered.

Delegate O'Connell spoke at length in favor of such action. He did not believe there were 100 members in the organization. Secretary Morgan stated to him just before he came here that if he were at this Convention he would not object to the withdrawal of charter, as he believed they were standing in the way of organization.

Delegate Barnes did not favor the motion.

It was by the aid of the I. M. U. that the I. A. M. was brought into the fold.

President McBride explained how the charter was issued to the I. A. M. and thought the I. M. U. ought now cease to exist.

Delegate McCarthy read protest from the Boston local of the I. M. U.

Delegate O'Connell answered that the differences in Boston would be amicably adjusted.

It was then voted that the resolution be adopted.

Delegate McGuire stated that Mr. Mawdsley, one of the English delegates, was leaving us, and before doing so, it was proper that we should tender him some token of our regard, and in a few felicitous words he presented him with a cane.

Delegate Mawdsley replied, thanking the delegates. He would go back to England not only with the highest opinion of his American brethren, but with the feeling that he had learned something. He mentioned the high order of the men he had met in the Convention, saying they were much above the average representative in Europe. It surprised him. They looked to the American workman to set an example for the world, although they did some things better on the other side, due to their greater experience.

The place to hold the next Convention was then considered.

Delegate Rist nominated Cincinnati, O.; seconded by Delegates Kelly, Rowland and Higgins.

Delegate Pomeroy nominated Nashville, Tenn.; seconded by Delegate Albers.

The full vote was ordered and resulted in, for Cincinnati, 1561; Nashville, 431.

The following telegrams were read:

Chicago, Ill., December 16, 1895.  
Wm. C. Pomeroy, Convention Hall, A. F. of L., Madison Square Garden New York:  
"Trades Assembly sends greetings and good wishes to Convention. Socialist wing of labor congress protests against agreement, and

has called special meeting for next Sunday. Trades unionists satisfied.

T. J. ELDERKIN,  
President.

WALTER M. GROVES, Secretary Trades and Labor Assoc., pro. tem.

Chicago, Ill., December 16, 1985.

Aug. McCraith, Convention Hall, A. F. of L.: Trades and Labor Assembly of Chicago sends greetings and good wishes to you all. Keep up the good work on trade union lines.

JAS. O'CONNELL,  
Vice-President Trades Assembly.

The Committee on Law reported as follows:

We recommend that Sec. 2, Art. VIII be transferred and become Sec. 6 of Art. V under the head of officers.

And we further recommend the word "general" be stricken out in first line of Sec. 1, Art. VI., that it may conform to the rest of the section.

We further recommend that the incoming Executive Council be instructed to correct a number of clerical errors which now appear in the Constitution, and to cut up and subdivide the larger sections into smaller ones, but in no way to change or alter the fundamental law therein.

P. J. MCGUIRE,  
Chairman,

P. H. PENNA,

JOS. F. VALENTINE,

W. B. PRESCOTT,

J. MAHLON BARNES,  
Secretary.

Delegate Kelly moved to adopt.

Carried.

The Committee on Credentials reported in favor of seating Henry White as substitute for Delegate Jacobs who had retired.

Adopted.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved for unanimous consent to introduce the following:

WHEREAS, The United Hatters have received the support of the A. F. of L., notwithstanding that the hatters have held aloof and refused to tender their support to us, and

WHEREAS, This organization has never encouraged secession from the hatters ranks because of such non-affiliation.

RESOLVED, That in the opinion of this Convention, the hatters ought to be a part of the labor movement of the United States, in line with the trade unions.

Adopted.

Delegate White of the special committee on American Tobacco Co., made the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the 15th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

We your special committee to wait upon the American Tobacco Co. for the purpose of unionizing the various factories, beg leave to submit for your consideration the following report. We called upon the said company, and after quite a lengthy discussion with the president, Wm. Duke, met with a refusal. We then asked that the subject matter be referred to the Board of Directors of said company, Mr. Duke informed your committee that there would be no use in doing so as he

voiced the sentiments of the American Tobacco Company.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
JAMES CRAMER,  
JOHN WHITE.

It was recommended that the boycott be endorsed, when Committee on Labels and Boycotts reported.

Adopted.

Delegate Jacobson moved that the resolution to make the eight hour law applicable to all government contract work be endorsed.

Carried.

George Francis Train was introduced and addressed the Convention. He spoke favorably of the delegates individually, of the elaborate reports the press had given, gave a blackboard illustration of the financial problem, declaring the inability of gold to meet our wants, and denounced politics as a fraud. He was frequently interrupted with laughter and applause.

Charlotte Smith, of the Women's Industrial League, was then introduced and made an appeal for the organization of women.

Delegate McGuire introduced the following, which was adopted:

To amend Article III of the Constitution by adding Section 7, as follows: None other than members of a *bona fide* trade union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

The Committee on Organization recommended that the following be referred to the Executive Council:

By J. F. O'Sullivan:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to consider the advisability of changing the pledge in the ritual of federal unions, and that contemplated changes be submitted to all federal unions for their consideration.

Adopted.

Delegate Braunschweiger was here called to the Chair.

By Journeymen Barbers' International Union through its delegates.

RESOLVED, That all trades assemblies, central labor unions and central labor federations or any central body having an organization of barbers affiliated therewith, and not affiliated with the international union of that trade shall do all within their power to have the local unions procure a charter from the aforesaid international union.

RESOLVED, That should said local barbers' union fail to procure a charter from the said international union within a period of three months, they shall be expelled from the central body with which they are affiliated.

Adopted.

By Jas. H. Sullivan:

WHEREAS, Inasmuch as the A. F. of L. has recognized the Brotherhood of Painters

and Decorators of America, of which J. H. Sullivan is General President, and John T. Elliot is General Secretary, be it

RESOLVED, That all state federations, trade assemblies and central labor unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., are hereby instructed to refuse to recognize any local union of painters and decorators who are not affiliated with the national union recognized by this body, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all local affiliated central bodies are requested to use all means in their power to encourage and assist the brotherhood of painters and Decorators of America in building up their organization.

Adopted.

By C. P. McCambridge:

WHEREAS, The spirit of organization is abroad in the land, and

WHEREAS, There are ten thousand men and women employed in the various packing houses in Kansas City, and

WHEREAS, Said men and women are almost entirely unorganized, while being anxious to become members of some labor union, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board be instructed to send a special organizer to Kansas City and also appoint two organizers who reside in Kansas City.

Referred to incoming Executive Board.

Adopted.

By James Lanigan.

RESOLVED, That the efforts of the organizers of the A. F. of L., as well as the aid of all the trades unions affiliated be lent to organizing the bleachers and dyers of the United States into a national union.

Referred to incoming Executive Board.

Adopted.

By James Duncan.

WHEREAS, The Granite Cutters of the United States are emerging not only from the industrial depression but from one of the most gigantic lockouts ever waged in the history of the labor movement and involving the whole granite industry in the states of Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Vermont, and the interest of the manufacturers of those states wherever located, and

WHEREAS, The Granite Cutters' Union was during the period of such lockout excessively taxed, both in the matter of discipline and finance, and from which it has not yet fully recovered; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council call the special attention of A. F. of L. organizers to the organization and reorganization of granite cutters in all parts of the country, to the end that by the assistance of the organizing literature by that union they may be able to co-operate in thoroughly organizing the craft where not now organized, and to perfect organization already undertaken.

Referred to Executive Council.

By Delegates Bechtold and Kurzenknebe:

WHEREAS, The continual fights between different factions of the labor movement are making every progress illusory and **only work** to the benefit of united capital, and

WHEREAS, All former attempts to unify labor's ranks have mostly failed on account of the fact that always the parties most interested in those fights, the so-called leaders of the fighting factions have been chosen to bring about a unification of the labor movement, be it

RESOLVED, That the 15th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. herewith invites every national, international and district labor organization to send delegates to a Convention to be held on the 4th of July, 1896, in Chicago or any other centrally located city for the purpose of bringing about a close connection of all labor organizations.

The Committee believed that nothing could be accomplished while considerable expense would be incurred.

Laid on table.

By Delegate Klapetzky.

WHEREAS, The Barbers' International Union finds it an utter impossibility to organize the members of their craft without the united support and assistance of all national, international, and local federated bodies affiliated with this federation; and

WHEREAS, On account of the limited membership of this organization they find it impossible to raise sufficient funds to place a permanent organizer in the field; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board be and are hereby instructed to devise means whereby the members of affiliated unions shall be called upon to refrain from patronizing any barber shops which do not display the union shop card of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America.

Approved.

On the resolution of Delegate Elderkin relating to dual organization the committee reported matter covered by previous action.

In the matter of the machinists and type-setting machine engineers, Delegate O'Connell said that he and Delegate Prescott had drawn up an agreement which they believed would be satisfactory to all parties concerned.

For the resolution offered by the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, calling for harmony between the A. F. of L. and K. of L. the committee would substitute:

The A. F. of L. has always endeavored to establish harmonious relations between labor organizations, and has repeatedly held out the olive branch notwithstanding great provocation; and now, as then, we are willing to recognize the jurisdiction of all labor organizations which recognize ours.

W. C. PEARCE, Chairman.

W. E. KLAPETZKY, Secretary.

ROADY KENEHAN.

There being lack of definition of the last clause of the above resolution, it was moved without debate to lay the matter on the table. Carried.

The Committee on Resolutions reported on the following:

By Delegate Jacob Gompers:

WHEREAS, The workers of our county have suffered by reason of unfair, improper and illegal immigration of workers from foreign countries who came here under written or implied contracts, to give their services at a greatly reduced rate of wages, thus tending to deteriorate the economic, social, material and moral condition environments.

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that the purpose of the alien contract labor law is being violated by the perjury of immigrants, such perjury being instigated and encouraged by unfair employers, shipping companies and their agents. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we demand the amendment of present law so that immigrants who falsely take oath or affirm with the purpose to evade the provisions of the alien contract labor law, shall be punishable as perjurers, and that all persons who may be guilty of instigating or encouraging immigrants to falsely swear or affirm with the same object in view, shall be punished for subordination of perjury.

Amendment by the Committee:

We view with approval the effort the immigration officers are making for the enforcement of the alien contract labor law, but demand that the law be so perfected as to more effectually protect the wage workers of our country from people who allow themselves to be brought here under a species of slavery generally known as a contract.

Approved.

By Delegate Barnes:

RESOLVED, That it is as clearly the duty of union workmen to organize and maintain a political party devoted exclusively to their own interests as to organize in trade and labor unions.

Substitute by Committee.

RESOLVED, That it is clearly the duty of union workmen to use their franchise so as to protect and advance the class interests of the men and women of labor and their children. That the interests of workers as a class is of paramount importance to party interests. That the class interests of labor demand labor measures in preference to party measures, and we, therefore, recommend to the workers more independent voting outside of party lines.

Delegate Barnes said we might just as logically say that we encourage people to work as they please irrespective of organizations. He would say, however, that our class interests should bring us both industrially and politically together as a unit along class lines. He instanced the fact, illustrative of our condition, that a delegate of this convention was compelled to be absent three days because of the arbitrary demands of his employer, and he had to steal away from the shop to be here today. Yet it is said we are freemen. He contended there was a vulnerable point in the position of our opponents. At the ballot box, where we outnumber the other side five to one we can dispossess them.

Adjourned at 5:30.

## EIGHTH DAY—Morning Session.

Tuesday, Dec. 17, 1895.

Convention called to order at 9:30.

Roll call and minutes dispensed with.

The Committee on Labels and Boycotts reported:

By Delegate White:

WHEREAS, The American Tobacco Co. has by discriminating against, and refusing to recognize the right of its employees to organize, become antagonistic to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, This spirit of antagonism has been proved by its actions when certain of its employees in its factory in Louisville, Ky., saw fit to organize, the unfair means of intimidation was resorted to, to such an extent, that the employees were compelled to choose between their union and their positions; and

WHEREAS, A similar state of affairs has sprung into existence in the Jas. G. Butler Tobacco factory, of St. Louis, which has recently been absorbed by the Tobacco Trust, which under the Jas. G. Butler regime was a union factory throughout; and

WHEREAS, All honorable means through committees, looking toward an amicable adjustment, have proved futile, the National Tobacco Workers' Union of America has declared this Trust to be unfair, and has placed a boycott on all its products, the same having received the indorsement of the Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, Mo., and the Council of Trades and Labor Unions of Detroit, Mich.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, gives its indorsement to this boycott; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor with the powerful influence it wields, lends all possible assistance to the tobacco workers in pushing this boycott to a successful issue.

Approved by committee. Adopted.

By Delegates Kurzenknabe and Bechtold:

RESOLVED, That the convention re-endorse the boycotts of the brewers on the New York brewers pool beer and the St. Louis English syndicate, and request that the Executive Council issue a circular to all affiliated

bodies calling on them to enforce the boycott, at the expense of Brewers' National Union.

Approved by committee. Adopted.

By Elastic Goring Weavers' Amalgamated Association: That the above organization request the A. F. of L. to re-endorse boycott on Hopedale Elastic Fabric Co. of Hopedale, Mass., of which Congressman Draper, of Massachusetts, is the principal owner.

Approved. Adopted.

And also to place a boycott on the product of Thomas Taylor, of Hudson, Mass., manufacturer of elastic goring for congress shoes.

Referred to Executive Council.

By Delegate Dernel:

WHEREAS, The cigar makers of New York City have for the last four years been engaged in a struggle with a firm named Ottenberg Bros., against a reduction of wages, and other unfair conditions that existed in this establishment. The firm had placards posted on the walls stating that it was strictly a non-union shop. A boycott was placed upon this firm by the A. F. of L., which has caused the firm to call for a committee from the cigar makers upon two occasions, but no amicable adjustment has been reached owing to the great disparity in prices paid by the firm, and the prices called for by the bill of prices demanded by the New York unions.

WHEREAS, The firm of S. Ottenberg Bros. refuses to pay the union scale of wages, and pay at the present time the lowest wages of any factory in this city.

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. reaffirms its boycott upon the firm of S. Ottenberg Bros., and the same be spread on the minutes of this body, and further.

RESOLVED, That this convention request all labor papers to publish this resolution, and further, that all the delegates to this convention secure the co-operation of all union men in their locality to refuse to smoke the product of this firm.

Adopted.

WHEREAS, The Fuller-Warren Company, stove manufacturers, of Milwaukee, Wis., has during the past four years antagonized organized labor, and on or about August 14, 1895, discharged the union molders in their employ; and

WHEREAS, All attempts at conciliation were refused with contempt by the vice-president and manager of said company; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the product of the Fuller-Warren Company, of Milwaukee, Wis., be declared unfair and unworthy of the patronage of organized labor and its friends.

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to issue a circular letter calling upon all bodies of organized labor to inform their friends and the public in general not to buy any stoves or heaters manufactured by the Fuller-Warren Company, of Milwaukee, Wis.

Referred to the Executive Council, as well as the communication on the Richmond Stove Co., Norwich, Conn:

By Delegate Wiemann:

WHEREAS, The firm of Kipp Bros., of

Milwaukee, Wis., manufacturers of mattresses and spring beds, has discharged its employees because of their affiliation with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, Said firm has been and still continues to antagonize all men and measures whose purpose and aim are the advancement of our people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the products of said firm be placed on the boycott list until such time as they concede the just demands of the Mattress Workers' Union No. 6490, and the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee.

Referred to Executive Council.

By Delegates Kurzenkabe and Bechtold:

WHEREAS, The Bergner & Engel and the Balz Brewing Companies of Philadelphia, Pa., are still refusing their employees the right to join any labor organization, and

WHEREAS, These two brewery firms have lately been instrumental in having four active members of local union No. 5, of the national union of the united brewery workmen of the United States arrested, and two of them convicted under the capitalistic conspiracy law and sent to jail for three months each, and

WHEREAS, These firms refused to come to any satisfactory agreement with organized labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the boycott against the product of those two firms be endorsed, and all labor organizations throughout the country be requested to use their utmost efforts to stop the sale of the above mentioned scab beer.

Referred to Executive Council.

By same:

WHEREAS, The conditions of the workmen employed in the different commission malt houses in several parts of the country are worse than in any other trade.

WHEREAS, Long and hard efforts made by the National Union of United Brewery Workmen of the United States to organize and better the conditions of the malsters have been successful to a certain extent, but the refusal of several leading malt house firms who employ their workmen in a most inhumane manner, working them seven days a week, and 14 and 16 hours a day, by a weekly wage scale of \$7, \$8 and \$9, for a most hard and unhealthy work, is prohibiting further success; therefore be it

RESOLVED, To declare a boycott against the firms of Fisher, of Buffalo, N. Y.; Deutscher, of Hamilton, Ohio; C. Schreier, of Sheboygan, Wis.

RESOLVED, To ask all the central bodies and local unions of affiliated national and international unions to use all possible efforts prohibiting the brewery firms of their respective cities from using the malt manufactured by the above mentioned firms till they see fit to recognize the right to organize to their employees.

Referred to Executive Council.

By Delegates Kurzenkabe and Bechtold:

On request of our L. U. No. 7, of the Pacific Coast, endorsed by the National Executive Board of our national union, we hereby ask the convention of the A. F. of L. to list the boycott levied upon the Jackson and National Breweries of San Francisco, Cal. L. U. No. 7 claims that they will be more able to reor-



ganize the brewery workmen of their city after this boycott is raised.

Approved. Adopted.

By Delegate Reichers:

WHEREAS, The large wholesale and retail clothing manufacturers of New York City, Hackett, Carhart & Co., have agreed to abide by the union conditions of the United Garment Workers of America after a contest of two years' duration, therefore

RESOLVED, That the boycott levied by the American Federation of Labor be removed and the name of this firm be taken from the unfair list.

Approved. Adopted.

RESOLVED, That the committee request all trade union journals and labor papers to publish a list of properly endorsed boycotts.

Adopted.

The committee recommended in the case of the Horse Shoers' stamp that was indorsed by Denver convention, that union men throughout the country be more careful when having horses shod, to see to it that their work be given only to shops where the horse shoers' stamp is used.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was resumed on political action.

Delegate Lennon moved to lay on table. The point was raised that under our rules, the originator of the motion must be allowed to speak. Decided well taken.

Delegate Barnes was given the floor.

Delegate Weismann raised the point of order that the matter was already passed upon, we having rejected the political platform.

-Ruled out, the chair stating we were considering report of committee and a motion to lay on table was pending.

Delegate McGuire desired to know how question could be debated if motion to lay on table was pending.

The President cited the rule referred to.

Delegate O'Sullivan raised the point that to lie on table was not in order when made. Not well taken.

The motion to table was lost by 25 to 19.

Delegate McGuire stated it was the intention when the Federation was formed to allow the utmost latitude of opinion and action consistent with progress and unity; to act together on those points upon which we agree. It was not until four years ago at Philadelphia that an attempt was made to divert the organization from these well established principles. All trade unionists indicted the present system as severely as any socialist. This country was based strongly on individualism, more so than any other.

In the panic of '73 there were 68,000 trade unionists, and when ended there was less than 20,000; but after the recent panic there was less than 20 per cent. loss. We believed any one and everybody should have a hearing. We admired the earnest men in the socialists and populist parties, but the populists nor the prohibitionists do not ask us to endorse their platforms. If we should go into politics, the corruption is so intense, those fakirs who can not secure offices in the old parties would inflict themselves on us. He always voted the independent ticket when opportunity presented. He voted for Peter Cooper for president, and no later than last election voted the socialist labor. Politically, we will control this country in 40 odd years, and the man who is not content to wait will have to. We are now beaten by the capitalists because of their better business methods. He had been through the school of kangaroo political economy, and so long as we have the red flag of socialism thrust upon us, we will have it combated by philosophical anarchism. Let us drop them both and move along on independent political lines on the outside.

Delegate Garland was called to the chair.

Delegate Tobin said that all old parties aim at perpetuating the wage system, and it was absolutely impossible to unite labor's forces on petty issues. He was not in favor of nationalizing schemes. The employees in the postal service do not support us; they are content with things as they are, and we would find the same result were railroads nationalized. The socialists were loyal to the Federation and would stick to the old ship so long as she demonstrated capacity for moving along progressive lines.

Delegate O'Sullivan stated it cost \$576 per day to hold this convention, considering the delegates' wages and expenses. We were not sent here to discuss politics by the men who are paying these bills. We need have no fear of unions withdrawing from the Federation owing to our antagonism to the introduction of politics, for the men who so advocate do not represent the men who send them. The Federation guarantees absolute political and religious freedom; many local and international constitutions contain express provisions thereon. It was a waste of time. We do not desire to bar the discussion of political economy, but we do emphatically disapprove of party politics. He would offer the following:

That this convention declares that party politics whether they be democratic, republican, socialistic, populist, prohibition or any other,

should have no place in the conventions of the A. F. of L.

The roll call was ordered and resulted as follows:

For—Sidener, Weismann, Eaton, Lynch, McGuire, Plumb, Rowland, Neuroth, S. Gompers, Dernel, Kelly, Jacobs, H. White, Albers, Keough, Garland, O'Connell, Ashe, Usher, Penna, McBryde, W. C. Pearce, Sullivan, Diehl, Furuseth, Lennon, Blick, Ryan, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Junio, Parsons, McCarthy, McGill, Braunschweiger, Lee, Barter, Pomeroy, Anderson, O'Sullivan, Svindseth, McGean, Mulcare, Mullen, Miller.—1,460.

Against—Kurzenkabe, Bechtold, Barnes, Kenehan, Duffy, Lawrence, Rist, Wieman, Maily, Kreyling, McCambridge.—158.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

By Delegate Lawrence:

RESOLVED, That this convention declares in favor of such legislation as will bring about laws requiring better sanitary conditions in the dressing rooms of theaters of the country, in the end that the conditions are abolished under which members of the actors, or theatrical profession are obliged to perform labor at the risk of their health and to often their lives.

Approved. Adopted.

By Delegate Diehl:

WHEREAS, At the present time there are laws governing the employment of laborers and mechanics on government work to be not more than eight hours per day, and

WHEREAS, It is positively known that the government officials, i. e. Treasury Department do not enforce said law, but on the contrary, openly and flagrantly violate it, and in addition to such violation do tend to prevent the endeavors of the various trades and labor organizations throughout the country to secure the short work day, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby directed to prefer charges under General Order No. 398 of Navy Department issued August 6, 1892, to the President of the United States against the Secretary of the Treasury, who, being cognizant of such violation, has failed to have said law covering the eight-hour work day properly complied with.

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this 15th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, do believe that in order to firmly establish the eight-hour work day it is of paramount importance that the head of the government must see to the strict enforcement of the law at present on the statute books and hold him to a strict accountability. Thus the eight-hour work day will become a practical established fact through a well directed effort on the part of organized labor, bringing before the country the universal observance by the government in a matter which the immediate future will solve in a manner calculated to best remove a prime factor creating dissension between capital and labor with their far reaching ill effects both to the employer and employee.

Approved by committee, to be referred to Executive Council.

Delegate Ashe moved to amend by inserting after secretary-treasurer, "and the executive head of any other government department in which the eight-hour law is violated.

Delegate Furuseth asked if the courts had been appealed to.

Delegate Diehl said his organization had done what it could, but needed the influence of the Federation.

Delegate Gompers said the Executive Council had instructed him when in office to secure a good case, and make a test, and they would be only too happy to be afforded the opportunity.

Delegate Diehl thought opportunities were generally at hand.

Delegate O'Sullivan had some experience in Boston; courts ruled they worked by the hour, not by the day, and thus avoided the law.

Delegate Kenehan said the law was one time violated in Denver, but the Trades Assembly had made them live up to it.

Delegate McGuire said they had brought the government to time in his trade without the aid of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Delegate Eaton called for the previous question. Carried.

The amendment was adopted and passed as a whole.

By Delegate Costello:

WHEREAS, We, the members of Laboring Men's Protective Union No. 5287 of the A. F. of L., are of the opinion that we have not received a fair recognition from the officers of the A. F. of L. in the past; and

WHEREAS, As we have promptly paid all dues in the past and we intend to do so in the future,

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled devise ways and means of forming a national union of the laboring unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated unions do their utmost to accomplish the same.

The committee reported approval so far as the request to organize national body was concerned.

Delegate Barter stated since forming a national the longshoremen had much improved their conditions. He supported the idea, and would also add the following:

RESOLVED, That the incoming executive board is hereby requested to organize the unskilled workers in the various federal labor unions now affiliated with the A. F. of L. into a national organization.

This created some discussion, it being stated the federal unions contained many kinds of labor, skilled and unskilled, as well as professional.

Delegate Eaton moved to strike out "federal labor unions."

Both amendments were defeated, and the original motion adopted.

By Delegate Furuseth:

WHEREAS, House bills 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, and 1233, introduced by the Hon. James G. Maguire, of California, are the same which were endorsed by our Denver convention, be it

RESOLVED, That we do again endorse said bills, and urge upon Congress their speedy passage.

Approved. Adopted.

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be directed to consider the advisability of taking such steps as may be necessary to secure the abolition of the padrone system in this country.

Approved. Adopted.

By Delegate S. H. Jacobson:

RESOLVED, That the eight-hour law pertaining to all employees engaged in work directly for the United States government be extended so as to include all those employed on contract work given by the United States government; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to have an amendment to the said law framed and introduced in the United States Congress.

Approved. Adopted.

On direct legislation the committee would offer the following substitute for resolutions presented:

RESOLVED, That we re-affirm the attitude of the A.F. of L. on the principle of direct legislation and demand that the initiative and referendum be adopted and to apply to the affairs of the Federal States and municipal governments.

Adopted.

On the resolutions respecting the struggle of the Cubans for liberty, the committee would recommend that copies thereof be sent to the officials of the government at Washington and the Executive office of the Cubans in this country. Adopted.

On the resolution respecting joint stock labor unions, the committee reported inexpedient to legislate. Adopted.

The following was presented:

WHEREAS, During a long life, Allan G. Thurman has proved by his every action and utterance that he was at all times a true friend of the masses; that he was in the best an honorable, upright and conscientious man and a statesman of the highest order, basing his advocacy of opposition to legislative enactment on a sincere desire to accomplish that which would bring the greatest benefit to the

whole people of our common country; therefore

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that in the death of Allan G. Thurman we recognize the fact that we, as representatives of labor, have lost a sincere friend and advocate, and we hereby express our admiration for the life and worth of Allan G. Thurman, and tender to his family and the common people of our country our expression of gratification that such men as Allan G. Thurman have lived and left behind them an example of true manhood that cannot help but elevate all mankind.

Adopted by a rising vote:

The committee further reported:

These cover the entire subject matter referred to your committee. In closing we would respectfully recommend that organizations and delegates avail themselves of the constitutional provisions, i. e. to propose their resolutions and changes to the laws, previous to the opening of the conventions.

We are of the opinion that if this course was more generally adopted, the convention could transact its business within one week.

Fraternally yours,  
SAMUEL GOMPERS,

Chairman.

J. W. BRAMWOOD,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
W. C. POMEROY,  
ROBERT HOWARD,

Secretary.

Adopted as a whole.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that the resolution on political action be incorporated into the constitution. Adopted.

Delegate Henry White reported that the tailors were locked out; that an attempt was being made to turn back the wheels of progress to restore the sweating system with which their organization had successfully contended. The movement would largely extend, but he felt they would win in the end. The United Hebrew Charities, which was supported largely by the clothing contractors as well as the city, was supplying their places. He desired to bring the situation before the delegates so that they could extend aid in their respective cities.

Delegate Furuseth stated that four scamen of Astoria, Oregon, desired to leave their ship; master refused; were arrested; kept in jail fourteen days, while vessel was loading; then, handcuffed, they were put on board by a United States marshal; refused again to work; vessel towed out to sea, again refused. Subsequently the vessel was in danger, but they persisted in their refusal to work. Taken to Frisco; charged with disobedience; seamen's union took up the case; no one should be compelled to work against his will; case appealed; now in Supreme Court; sailors in jail in Alameda county, California. He would

move that a telegram be sent them, extending our fraternal greetings and commending the firm stand they had taken on behalf of individual liberty and the right to quit work. Adopted.

Delegate Duffy moved that we adjourn this convention not later than 5:30 today.

Laid on table.

Delegate Pomeroy moved we adjourn to 1:30, and then go into executive session. Carried.

Adjourned at 12:15.

## EIGHTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order at 2:40 in executive session.

The following was then presented by Delegate Plumb:

New York, December 17, 1895.

To the Officers and Members of Trade and Labor Assembly, Nashville, Tenn., Greeting: Brothers—The delegates to the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor wish to send you our fraternal greetings as co-workers in the cause of labor.

The kind invitation you extended the A. F. of L. to visit your city with its next convention was received with favor by a number of delegates who recognized that the South as the New South needed the aid and council, also the presence of the representatives of the workers of all sections of the country, but a majority of the delegates saw fit to select the city of Cincinnati.

Brothers, we wish to express the fraternal feelings we bear to your city for its kind invitation, and also to attest the regard and confidence we hold for the worthy representative you saw fit to represent your city in the person of Bro. W. T. Dukelhart.

Adopted.

The continuance of the Grievance Committee's report was taken up at the place it was discontinued on the afternoon session of Saturday.

(Messrs. Jones and Schlect were here granted permission to be present.)

Delegate Ryan thought it would be well to refer the findings of the Grievance Committee on disagreement between St. Louis Trades Assembly and the local musicians to the Committee on Law.

The Secretary stated that the Executive Council must not be considered, in deciding as it did in this case (to be found in its report,) that it was opposed to sympathetic strikes. On the contrary, we were banded together to help one another. The words union, federation implied it. An organization that held aloof when assistance could be given to a sister organization was deserving of censure, but not to the extent of expulsion from a central body or from the Federation. There

was a limit to the assistance which we could exact. The organization itself must ultimately decide. It was the overriding of this limit, the demanding more than was tendered, that disrupted the K. of L., and on the ground of expediency and the best results in the end, the A. F. of L. acknowledged the situation, and out of which was evolved trade autonomy, or the granting to each affiliated body the utmost freedom in conducting its own laws, consistent with the principles which we represented.

Delegate Ryan moved to strike out "law committee" in the Grievance Committee's recommendation and insert "Executive Council," and that the council also convey to unions, in such way as it thinks proper, not to tie themselves up with contracts so they cannot help each other when able. Carried.

The Grievance Committee further reported:

Gentlemen—Your committee has carefully considered a number of complaints against the Brewery Workmen's National Union in connection with an appeal of the same union against a decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in the complaint of Brewery Workmen's National Union against Local No. 18, of Chicago, and the Trades and Labor Assembly of that city. The evidence submitted by the Council, the central labor bodies of Boston and Albany, N. Y., and also that of the United Brewery Workmen's National Union all point to one circumstance as the cause and source of the present trouble within the ranks of the said organization, the dual affiliation of a part of the National Union with both the A. F. of L. and the K. of L. Your committee having sufficient evidence of this fact therefore recommend that the Brewery Workmen's National Union in their coming convention in September, 1896, take steps to dissolve National Trade District No. 35 of the K. of L., lest suspension from the A. F. of L. should follow and further representation in this convention be denied them.

Your committee also find that the assessment in the case of Brewery Workmen No. 18 was levied justly and constitutionally and that said union be required to pay said assessment and reserve fund to the United Brewery Workmen's National Union, or to make mutually satisfactory arrangements for the payment of the same by January 1, 1896; that under these conditions Union No. 18 be reinstated into its

full rights and privileges as a *bona fide* local of the United Brewery Workmen's National Union. Your committee further recommend that unless No. 18 comply with the aforesaid order they shall be denied further representation in the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly or any similar body, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

M. M. GARLAND,  
DANIEL KEFFE,  
HENRY WEISMANN.

The following was also presented:

New York, December 16, 1895.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Brothers:—We have heard the recommendation of your Committee on Grievances in the brewers' case. We beg to differ with your committee in so far as the same came to the conclusion that all the different grievances brought before your body be a result of the dual representation (as they call it) of our National Union and the Brewers' National Trade Districts Assembly of the K. of L. After a thorough investigation you would find that this so-called dual representation has proved to be to the benefit of our trade.

Our difficulties with the Brewers' and Malster's Union No. 18, of Chicago, Ill., originally had nothing at all to do with the affiliation of a certain number of our local unions, with the K. of L. U. No. 18 had to be suspended on account of the refusal to pay an assessment legally levied by our National Union. The legality of this assessment has been proved by the reports of the grievance committees of the Denver and today's conventions and the decision of the late Executive Board. The question of the affiliation with the K. of L. was mixed up with the matter only at the Denver convention and later on, while at the time of the suspension of the Chicago Brewers' Union by our convention held at Cleveland in September, 1894, not a single word was mentioned about it. We therefore claim that it was the duty of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly at that time to suspend L. U. No. 18, according to Art. IV, Sec. 3, and the duty of the Denver convention to deny representation to the delegate of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly on account of their refusal to carry out the constitution. If the constitution had been carried out at the proper time, our difficulties with the Chicago Brewers Union would have been adjusted by the Denver Convention and would not have delayed the progress of our National Union during the past year.

Your committee recommends to you to give our National Union until our next convention to dissolve the Brewers' N. D. A. 35, K. of L. We earnestly hope you will not concur in this part of the committee's report for the simple fact that the carrying out of this recommendation would cause an immediate attack from the side of the K. of L. upon fourteen of our unions located at the different cities where our National Union has to fight their bitterest struggles against the united capital of the United Brewery Bosses' Association of the U. S. By accepting the recommendation of your Grievance Committee you therefore would hit us on the back and help the brewery bosses of this country in their long years' efforts to destroy the National Union

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of the United Brewery Workmen of the U. S.

In submitting this to our fellow delegates, we assure you that up to date we have never intended to press any one of our affiliated local unions into the K. of L. and never will do so in the future. Whenever we recommend an affiliation of a local union to the K. of L. it has been done for the sake of harmony, as we do not believe in fighting one organization with another one for the benefit of our common enemy—the capitalistic bosses.

Thanking you for the adjustment of the Chicago difficulties and assuring you that we will be loyal to the A. F. of L. as we have been heretofore we hope that you will do us no injury, and remain,

Yours in the cause of labor,

E. KURZENKNABE,

CHAS. F. BECHTOLD,

Delegates United Brewery Workmen's National Union.

Delegate Pomeroy said Local 18 was satisfied with the report of the Grievance Committee with one exception, the payment of the sum named before the national had withdrawn from the K. of L. They were willing to place the money in the hands of the Secretary of the Federation.

Delegate Weismann did not think it proper for us to thus appoint a receivership for an affiliated body.

Delegate Pomeroy asked if Local 18 would be admitted at next national convention of the Brewers' Union.

Delegate Bechtold replied that they would be admitted with full vote upon payment.

Delegate Kurzenknabe also objected to receiverships.

Delegate Bechtold stated they were willing to give Local 18 a year's time.

President McBride made a statement of the case, citing the attacks of the Brewers' Journal upon the Executive Board, which were abusive and slanderous.

Delegate Pomeroy stated for Secretary Schlecht, of Local 18, of Chicago, that they were willing to pay the amount due as follows: On January 1, '96, \$500; March 1, '96, \$500; May 1, '96, \$500. Dues and reserve fund to commence January 1, '96. He would move that all that part referring to Chicago Union be approved. Adopted.

Delegate Junio spoke of the difficulty they had with the Brewers' Union at Albany.

Delegate Henry White desired to show how the Brewers' Union had taken sides with the K. of L. on the Hacket, Carhart & Co. boycott.

After further discussion, the previous question was ordered and the report of the Grievance Committee was adopted.

The committee continued:

In the matter of the protest of the Brewers' National Union, against a decision of the Executive Council, refusing to endorse a boycott on the breweries controlled by the Master Brewers' Association of Alleghany county, your committee, after giving a careful consideration to both sides in the dispute, recommend that this convention grant the request of the Brewery Workmen's National Union, the endorsement of the said boycott and the granting to the brewers of the official seal for the circulation of such matter as may assist them in their struggle to unionize the breweries in question.

Delegate Bramwood cited the action of Denver convention in refusing to endorse the label of the brewers because they were affiliated with the K. of L.

Delegate Weismann thought the request of the brewers ought to be granted; that no doubt the action of the Executive Council, in refusing to endorse the boycott, was influenced by the K. of L. feature.

The Secretary replied this was one feature, and consistency demanded that if the brewers were not supported in Chicago, because of K. of L., the same reason must hold good in Alleghany. Another reason was, that to attempt to boycott 16 out of 17 breweries in any locality, and where the trade unionists did not recognize them as unfair, would be to make a farce of the boycott.

Delegate Bechtold replied that they were content to boycott two or three breweries.

Delegate Higgins moved that the Alleghany boycott case go to the Executive Council, with power to act when they comply with the laws of the A. F. of L.

By Bramwood, that boycott be endorsed when the brewery workmen withdraw from K. of L., in accordance with our action on Local 18 of Chicago. Subsequently withdrawn, and the motion of Delegate Higgins was adopted.

The committee continued:

In the grievance of the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers against the National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, concerning dispute over trade jurisdiction, we recommend that in the case of Theatrical Electricians, we find that no notice of this grievance has been filed with the National Alliance of the Theatrical Stage Employees, and find further that the matter may be adjusted by means of conciliation through correspondence with the locals interested.

Your committee recommend that 60 days' time be allowed for this purpose, and that in case of failure to settle the matter the Executive Council be required to call a conference of the parties interested for an adjustment of the difficulty.

Approved. Adopted.

Your committee having considered the complaint of the Manhattan Musical Protective Union against the Mutual Musical Protective Union of New York, find that the charges of the former are correct and would respectfully submit that this convention condemn the practices of said Mutual Musical Protective Union in refusing to affiliate with and to support organized labor as contrary to the principles and interests of organized labor, and recommend that bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L. withhold their support from said Mutual Musical Protective Union until such time as it will conform to the requirements of the solidarity of organized labor.

Approved. Adopted.

In the case of the Musicians Mutual Protective Association of Milwaukee against the Milwaukee Trades Council we recommend that the action of the said Council be endorsed and Musicians' Union No. 1 now chartered by this body be recognized as the only *bona fide* local union of musicians of Milwaukee.

Recommended that it be referred to council. Adopted.

In the case of Musicians' Protective Association of Buffalo against the Musical Progressive Union No. 7 of receiving a charter from the A. F. of L., we find that neither party to the case having appeared before the committee, and the evidence being exclusively documentary, requiring further investigation and correspondence, the whole matter should be referred to the Executive Council for further action.

Adopted.

Resolution of P. H. Penna, in reference to case of American Shoemakers' Union of Chicago, Ill., and Chicago Trades Assembly versus the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, is settled by previous legislation of this convention.

The resolution of the United Garment Workers versus Phoenix Federal Labor Union of Chicago, the existence of which is charged to be detrimental to the interest of the A. F. of L., we recommend to be referred to the Executive Council.

Adopted.

Your committee finds that in the case of the brass workers and metal polishers an amicable adjustment can be reached by a reference of same to a conference of the two organizations, to be held in some city of mutual choice about the latter part of June or beginning of July, subject to the endorsement of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., with the proviso that a representative of the Council attend the same in the capacity of an advisor.

HENRY WEISMANN,  
M. M. GARLAND,  
DANIEL KEEFE,  
E. A. PERKINS.

The Secretary asked how much of the report of the Grievance Committee should be printed.

By Delegate O'Sullivan: At the discretion of the President and Secretary.

By Delegate Gompers: That it all be printed. Carried.

Executive session discontinued.

By Delegate Higgins: That we re-affirm the following adopted at the Denver convention of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, Robert J. Beattie and Hugh Dempsey are still incarcerated in the Alleghany Penitentiary, in Pennsylvania, because of their connection with the Homestead strike and their devotion to the cause of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Witnesses who testified against the aforesaid have since confessed that they were bribed to do so, and perjured themselves, and the same now can be proved; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to adopt such measures as will in their judgment procure the liberation of Messrs. Beattie and Dempsey.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

Your Special Committee on *Federationist* respectfully recommend the pertaining matters to the incoming Executive Board.

W. C. POMEROY,  
J. BRAUNTSCHWEIGER,  
JOHN F. TOBIN.

Adopted.

By Delegate Kelly:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give all assistance possible toward organizing the electrical workers and that the President of the American Federation of Labor instruct its organizers to make special efforts toward organizing the electrical workers.

Adopted.

By Delegate McGuire:

WHEREAS, The experience of the labor movement in all periods of industrial depression, particularly in the past few years, as well as in former crises, proves conclusively that those trade unions which have high dues and beneficial features have been best able to hold their membership together in the most adverse times, and

WHEREAS, Such trade unions have at the same time been successful in withstanding reductions of wages and other inroads of employers, and have maintained their trade rules most effectively, as well as to obtain substantial improvements, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we do most urgently recommend and shall ever insist on the national and international unions and the local unions connected therewith to incorporate in their respective constitutions and laws provisions to arrange for payment of sufficient monthly dues by the members to have treasuries large enough to sustain members in all cases of trade disputes, such as strikes and lockouts, and to establish the following benefits, viz.:

1. Sick benefits.
2. Funeral benefits.
3. Disability benefits.
4. Out of work benefits for unemployed members.

Adopted.

Delegate Penna moved that we accept the invitation of the British Trade Union Congress, to be present at its next session. Carried.

Delegate Gompers nominated President McBride. Moved he be elected by acclamation. Carried.

The motion was put to the house, and adopted unanimously.

Delegate Ashe nominated Geo. E. McNeil. Delegate Tracey read declination from Mr. McNeil.

Delegate Barter nominated Delegate Weismann. Declined.

Delegate Weismann nominated John B. Lennon. Declined.

Delegate Higgins nominated J. W. Sullivan. Delegate Lennon nominated Delegate Pomeroy. Declined.

Delegate Pomeroy nominated Adolph Strasser.

Nominations closed.

Roll-call ordered, and resulted in 952 for Strasser and 726 for Sullivan.

Moved by Gompers that J. W. Sullivan be elected as alternate by acclamation. Carried.

Delegate Weismann moved that Mr. Strasser also visit the German Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Penna, that both do so.

Delegate Higgins, that it be referred to Executive Council. Carried.

Delegate McGuire, that the substance of his resolution on beneficial features of trade unions be published in *Federationist*. Carried.

Delegate Duffy: That we extend our thanks to the trade unions of New York, the reception committee and to the press for their courteous treatment. Carried.

By Delegate McGuire:

WHEREAS, John McBride, President of the American Federation of Labor, has loyally and honorably served the cause of Labor for many years. In every official position in which he has been placed, he has ever proved trustworthy, capable, honest and efficient, and

WHEREAS, In his trade union career from boyhood in the coal mines, through all the many trusts of life since then, John McBride has displayed a breadth of statesmanship, a geniality of manner and a kindness of spirit which endears him to all of us, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in the retirement of John McBride from the office of President of the American Federation of Labor, we officially part with one for whom we have the most profound esteem and regard, and shall ever hold him in most grateful affection for his devoted work in behalf of his fellow toilers.

Adopted and ordered engrossed.

President McBride thanked the delegates for the many courtesies shown him, and complimented them on the able way in which they had transacted the affairs of the convention, and he wished the new board of officers entire success the coming year.

After the singing of "Auld Lang Syne," the convention adjourned *sine die*.

AUG. McCRAITH, Secretary.





